

1985

St Eustatius: Acculturation in a Dutch Caribbean Colony

Patricia Lynn Kandle

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Caribbean Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kandle, Patricia Lynn, "St Eustatius: Acculturation in a Dutch Caribbean Colony" (1985). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539625292.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-3041-2b42>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

ST. EUSTATIUS: ACCULTURATION IN A
DUTCH CARIBBEAN COLONY

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Patricia Lynn Kandle
1985

APPROVAL SHEET

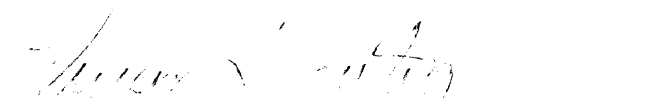
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts


Patricia L. Kandle

Approved, August 1985


Theodore R. Reinhart


Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr.

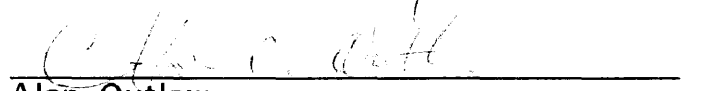

Alan Outlaw,
Virginia Research Center for Archaeology

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	V
ABSTRACT	VII
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER 1. HISTORY OF 17TH & 18TH CENTURIES OF ST. EUSTATIUS	11
CHAPTER 2. SUBGROUPS OF ST, EUSTATIUS	73
CHAPTER 3. THE LOWER TOWN AND CULTURE CHANGE	97
CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSION: ACCULTURATION ON ST. EUSTATIUS	131
APPENDIX A	141
APPENDIX B	158
APPENDIX C	181
NOTES	188
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	191

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The citizens of St. Eustatius are to be commended for the warmth with which they have welcomed our research into their island, and the generosity they have shown year after year. In particular I wish to thank Mr. Franz S. Lampe and Mr. Clifford Gibbs for so freely sharing their knowledge of their island. The College of William and Mary Archaeological Field School has been strengthened in its research efforts by the encouragement and close cooperation of the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation, the government of the island of St. Eustatius and the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles.

This thesis represents a compilation of materials gathered over several years and could never have reached fruition without the help and interest of Dr. Norman Barka. Thanks should also go to Dr. Eric Ayisi, to the faculty of the Anthropology Department and to my fellow students who patiently allowed me to develop these ideas through discussion. Any mistakes are, of course, my own.

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Orientation map to the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean	3
2.	The island of St. Eustatius	18
3.	The east coast of St. Eustatius	28
4.	Plan of the 1828 mole	71
5.	Population growth and decline graph	78
6.	Interior of the ruins of the second Jewish synagogue on St. Eustatius	83
7.	Italian print of the 18th century, east coast of St. Eustatius	85
8.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1830	86
9.	Drawing of a Statian house and slave village, 1792	94
10.	East coast of St. Eustatius, 1780	99
11.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1742	107
12.	The house in the Waterfort, 1724	109
13.	The slave house in the Waterfort, 1726	109
14.	Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns of St. Eustatius viewed from the north, 1774 (Emaus copy)	110
15.	The 18th century seawall or breakwater in the Lower Town	112
16.	Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns of St. Eustatius viewed from the south, 1774 (Emaus copy)	116
17.	1707 plan of the streets and fort of Willemstad, Curacao	117
18.	Two views of Willemstad, Curacao, 18th and 19th centuries, respectively	119
19.	The Doncker-Degraaff house	122
20.	Plan of Batteries Bouille and Montplaisant circa 18th century.	124
21.	Plan and profile of St. Eustatius, circa 18th century	126
22.	View of the east coast of St. Eustatius, 1790	127
23.	The present day Lower Town and cliffs	142
24.	Survey map of visible Lower Town ruins	143
25.	Warehouse and cistern ruins on the southern shore of the Lower Town	145
26.	Building ruins at Crooks Castle	147
27.	Eighteenth century yellow-brick, Lower Town building	150
28.	Cistern ruin in southern Lower Town	151
29.	Lower Town cistern ruin	152

30.	Eighteenth century warehouse walls in the northern Lower Town	153
31.	Breedstraat 20-22, house profile and plan, Willemstad, Curacao	155
32.	Drawing of the central Lower Town, 1829	157
33.	Plan of Battery Amsterdam, circa 18th century.	162
34.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1775	164
35.	"Part of St. Eustatius from the South East," 1776	165
36.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1781	167
37.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1795	169
38.	Plan of Fort Oranje	170
39.	Plan of Fort Oranje, 1787	173
40.	Plan of St. Eustatius, circa 1840	175
41.	Plan of St. Eustatius, 1847	176
42.	Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns from the south, A. Nelson, 1774	177
43.	Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns from the north, A. Nelson, 1774	178
44.	The Battery of Tumbledown Dick Bay, 1740	180

ABSTRACT

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Dutch island of St. Eustatius developed into a major Caribbean trade center. The social pressures exerted by the frequent contact with British, French and Spanish colonists began a process of change in which St. Eustatius' culture was modified.

This process of acculturation is examined through historical reconstruction based on records, drawings, maps and archaeological survey and excavation. From this data, subgroups and subsystems in 17th and 18th century St. Eustatius are identified, facilitating an examination for indices of change.

Analysis of the physical, geographical and task-specific elements of settlement and development has revealed a distinct arrangement of activity areas based on function - the dichotomy of the Lower and Upper Towns. This segregation served as a physical framework for a boundary system, controlling, or at least containing the more disruptive elements in the acculturation process.

ST. EUSTATIUS: ACCULTURATION IN A
DUTCH CARIBBEAN COLONY

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of European hegemony and imperialism spanning the past four centuries has generally been approached in anthropological studies through its effects on a subjugated native populations (Beals 1971:602). This same process of colonization in the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean (Figure 1) during the 17th and 18th centuries differs in that these islands had already undergone depopulation of the Arawaks and Caribs through intertribal warfare, the earlier introduction of European diseases and generally unsuccessful attempts to enslave these peoples. Consequently, the cross-cultural contacts, which allowed for acculturation, were mainly between the colonists of the different European nations.

That these colonies did undergo a process of culture change, deriving not only from adaption to a new ecological environment but also involving the diffusion of different cultural materials, is demonstrated by the recognition of a "new" culture area, the present day Caribbean, which is distinct from any one source of cultural tradition (Knight 1978:X,XI). Although this thesis will not attempt to distinguish the attributes of this culture, it is not

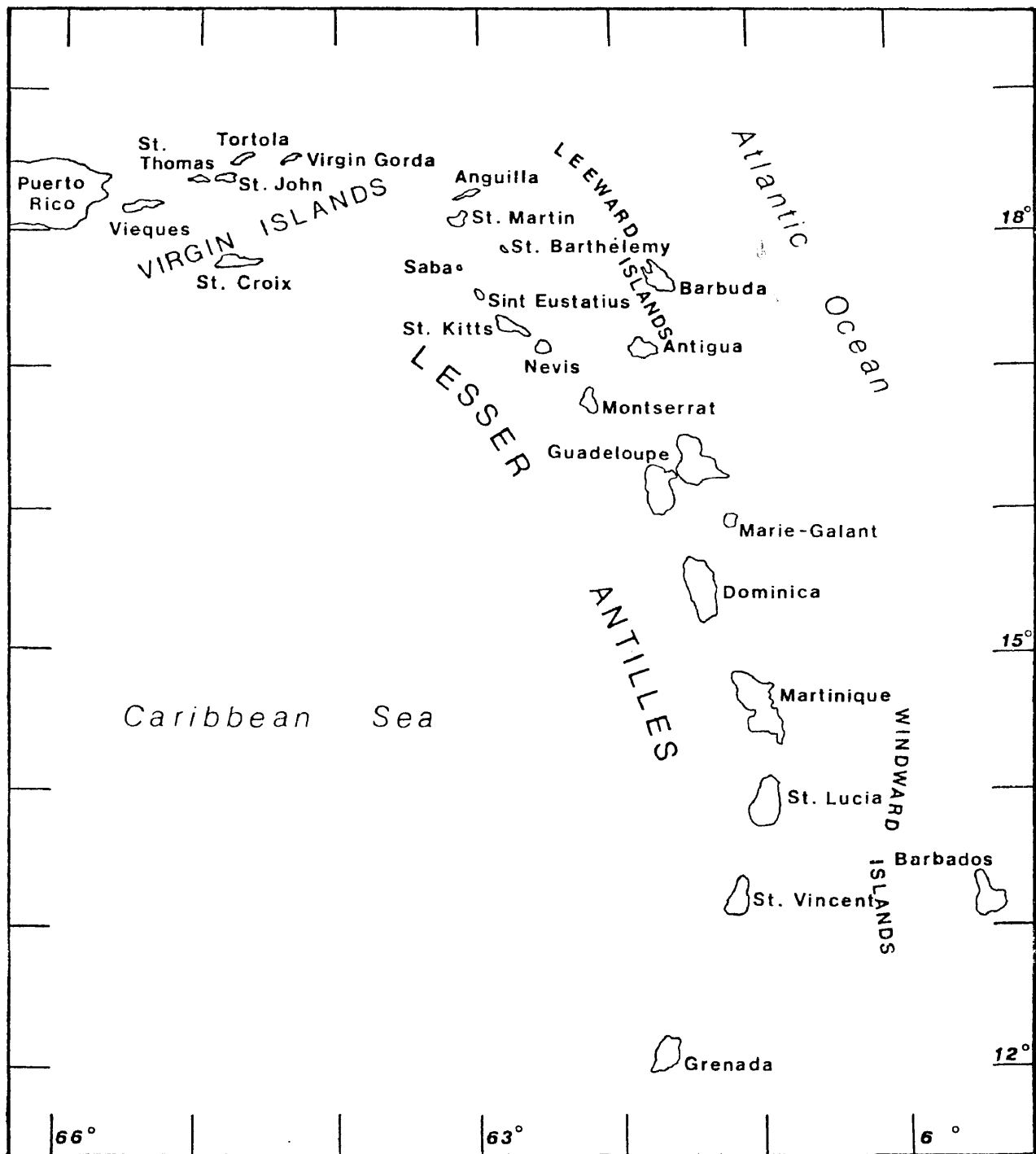


Figure 1. The Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean

intended to imply the lack of a range of culture (or subcultural) variation among the islands of the Lesser Antilles. Instead this study is directed toward a model of culture change using one island's developmental experience to distinguish the mechanisms involved in the diffusion and assimilation of new sociocultural material.

Historical and archaeological evidence of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius¹ demonstrates that this process of culture change was well under way by the mid-18th century. Building styles, artifact assemblages, and the social and economic adoption of the English language all serve as indices of this. That a complete abdication of their own Dutch cultural traditions had not occurred is evidenced by factors relating to familial and socio-economic organization, such as house floor plans, the weakening but continuing existence of the Dutch Reformed Church and the legal mechanisms for maintaining the plutocracy.

While the majority of this study will be particularistic in that St. Eustatius and its indices of cultural change form the major topic, the general approach reflects ideas expressed by Julian Steward in his Theory of Culture Change (1955). The concept of a search for regularities in the processes of cultural change through a limited cross-cultural comparison (multilineal evolution) stands as the justification for such a study. Cross-cultural comparisons of functional elements in colonial societies

could produce trends or progressional developments that would give insight into the decisive factors in the development of colonial societies (Steward 1955:26). Following is a possible hypothesis: Given that the French, Dutch, English and Danish colonies were all organized around their own respective types of West India Companies and that individual settlements chose any one of three economic strategies (agriculture, direct exploitation of natural resources or trade), are there correlations between these choices and retention of national cultural traditions?

Although I have used the term national culture in the above hypothesis, the concept of sub-cultural or subgroups introduced by Steward in his discussion on the differences between anthropological research on tribal groups and more complex societies forms a major part of this paper. Subgroups can be distinguished through the use of two types of criteria: horizontal (or local) and vertical (or status). On 18th century St. Eustatius divisions such as agriculturalists vs. traders/merchants or Jews vs. Dutch Protestants would reflect a local specialization. Status would, of course, refer to a ranking within the specializations such as plantation owners vs. overseers vs. house slaves vs. field slaves, or slaves newly arrived from Africa vs. slaves who had undergone acculturation. The identification of subgroups is important in that no one subgroup can form the basis of a full analysis of a society or culture. An example of the utility of this approach can

be found in present day St. Eustatius. The majority of the population of this island is comprised of the descendants of the African slaves and the mulatto people of the 18th century. Without the concept of subgroupings it would be difficult to understand the continuity of Statian culture from the 17th century into the present as well as the genesis of certain properties of Statian society today (Steward 1955:46-48). Subgroups also form the arena where "standards of behavior are mediated" particularly in instances of assimilation (Crane 1971:205, 206).

In this paper an attempt has been made to identify the subgroups of 17th and 18th century St. Eustatius. I have avoided as much as possible the introduction of complementary data from other islands to guard against over-generalizations. The importance of producing an accurate model of St. Eustatius society here outweighs the question of similarities between islands. Through identification of subgroups a more complex but hopefully more precise concept of the mechanics of Statian culture change will be produced.

With the passage of time as Statia's population grew so did the society's composition became more heterogeneous. The colonies first settlers were Zeelanders intent on tobacco farming, as well as the soldiers and officers of the Dutch West India Company. These farmers had to adjust to new ecological conditions; but considering the tenuous

nature of all the areas' recent settlements, communication with the Netherlands and maintenance of Dutch culture would have been extremely important. The acquisition of slaves, first Indians, soon replaced by Africans, would have introduced not only the structure of master-slave society but whatever aspects of the Africans' previous cultures not obliterated in the process of forced acculturation. New immigrants from other Caribbean islands as well as from the unsuccessful Dutch Brazilian colonies brought firsthand experience of Portuguese sugar plantation systems and French, English, Irish and Scottish cultural materials.

The hypothesis of this paper is that of all the new subgroups introduced to St. Eustatius it is the traders/merchants which served throughout the island's first two centuries as the single largest and most consistent conductor of new cultural material. As this trading community grew in economic importance and size it also served the role of boundary and filter for the island.²

The historical reconstruction of the 17th and 18th centuries of St. Eustatius is based on three sources: historical documents and secondary treatises; historical maps and drawings of Statia; and archaeological excavation and survey of historic sites of the island. Official documents of St. Eustatius consist of West India Company correspondence, in Dutch, and are to be found in various archives in the Netherlands. Island records have generally

been destroyed or lost to wars, storms and destruction through neglect. Records concerning the 17th century were lost in the dissolution of the first West India Company in 1674. It is reputed that some of Statia's records are stored in Curacao (Attema 1976:59, 60). Three historians have investigated the Netherlands Antilles archives at The Hague and have written important histories citing these documents: Ypie Attema, Cornelis Goslinga and Johan Hartog.

Additional historical information has been gathered from primary documents from the American Revolutionary War and British and French West Indies histories. The diary of the traveler Janet Schaw and the letter from Zimmerman the Elder have both been used extensively. Since the Zimmerman letter is not generally available, the entire text is included in Appendix C.

The originals of the 27 historical maps and drawings are to be found in: the National Archives, The Hague, Netherlands; The Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam; The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and one drawing is in the personal possession of Mrs. Morris Hill Merritt of Philadelphia, PA. Full size copies were obtained of all of the drawings and maps for the analysis.

The information on historical archaeology is based on four seasons of fieldwork by the College of William and Mary Archaeological Field School under the direction of Norman F.

Barka. Excavations of warehouse ruins in the Lower Town were conducted by the author over two seasons, as well as by other field school personnel. The Lower Town survey and mapping was conducted by Dr. Barka. The analysis of all archaeological data is the author's, except where cited.

Historical documentation supports the concept of trade as the main conjunctive relationship between Statia and alien cultures. The French and English political analysis of this Dutch island categorized it on the basis of its threat to their own trade monopolies. Locally in the Caribbean St. Eustatius represented access to more profitable markets as well as well-stocked warehouses of European manufactured goods.

The intra-cultural role of trade in Statia is less easily defined but distinguishing characteristics of the locality can produce insights. Trade activity and associated operations were all located on a circa one mile strip of beach adjacent to the anchorage of the island. Isolated by a line of cliffs, access to the remainder of the island was limited by a small number of paths, and the "Lower Town" worked as a self-contained unit for intercultural contact. Whether circumstantial or consciously chosen, this arrangement served as a boundary to unrestrained contact.

The body of this thesis is organized into three sections and the conclusions. The first chapter will present the

historical data relevant to culture change on St. Eustatius. This will include contextual information necessary to placing the colonization of this island within the framework of Dutch designs in the Caribbean. The second chapter will review the historical development of St. Eustatius to create a temporal explanation of the subgroups as well as examining data helpful to an ethnographic perspective.

The third chapter will focus on the subgroup identified in the previous chapter as merchants/traders and discuss their specialized activity area, the Lower Town.

CHAPTER 1

History of the 17th and 18th Centuries of St. Eustatius

The following account of two centuries of St. Eustatius' history is directed toward two major goals. The first is to distinguish those national and international institutions which served as a framework for local or community development. These institutions, governments and their policies and the economic systems such as money, standards of exchange, and commerce, are not the object of this study but these comprise the structure within which the formation of local society and culture took place. Although some overlap between national and local institutions is to be expected, those specific to St. Eustatius and her economic relationships will be made clear.

The second goal is to document those facts which affect and reflect societal and cultural phenomena. These include:

1. Commodities which passed through Statia's port defining the nature of this island's trade

relationships and that in addition supplied the inhabitants with much of their material culture;

2. Demographic data such as size and composition of Statia's population;
3. Evidence of localized activity areas.

The 17th Century

The origins of the Dutch colonization of the island of St. Eustatius lie within the context of a policy of military aggression and commercial expansion. By the 17th century the Netherlands were gaining financial ascendancy in Europe through their commercial activities. They had cornered much of the Baltic trade and were major suppliers of grain, wood, ships, arms and munitions and came to dominate the carrying trade between northern and southern Europe. Industries and manufacturing were on the rise in Amsterdam and merchants and traders there held a competitive edge over those of other countries because of low interest rates (Barbour 1950:1-87).

Dutch exploitation of the Caribbean was an outgrowth of this activity, an expansion of their markets and source of exotic raw goods. Generally, Dutch colonization in the

Americas was characterized by their interests in establishing stations for trade. Illicit trade and privateering marked the entrance of the Dutch into the Caribbean. English and French pirates and privateers seem to have been the first raiders of the Spanish and Portuguese territories in the Americas, arriving as early as 1516 and 1519. The French dominated pirating in the 16th century Caribbean, and the earliest the Dutch arrived is probably the 1557 sighting in Havana (Augier 1964:26). Regular complaints about the Dutch from the Spanish colonial authorities do not begin until the 1590's. In 1593 Dutch ships were captured there by the Spanish (Goslinga 1971:54), and complaints were sent to Spain about Dutch trading with the Indians of the Wild Coast for tobacco in 1599 (Davies 1961:119).

Dutch encroachment upon the Spanish Caribbean was given fresh motivation through hostilities with Spain herself. The Low Countries began fighting Spain for their independence in 1568 (Goslinga 1971:1) but mutual commercial activity continued until 1585. Dutch traders were the major carriers of Baltic goods (Goslinga 1971:48) to the Iberian Peninsula which in turn supplied them with salt for, among other needs, the growing herring industry. Although this arrangement suited both parties, a series of arrests were carried out by the Spanish government against Dutch ships in Iberian ports in 1585, 1594 and 1598. This disruption in the supply of salt drove the Dutch in a search for new

sources, first toward Africa and the Cape Verde Islands and then on to the coastal areas of South America and islands in the Caribbean (Goslinga 1971:48). From 1598 on the salt pans off the Venezuelan coast contributed increasing amounts of salt for Dutch industries (Goslinga 1917:117).

At the same time, Dutch pirates and privateers were beginning to ply the waters of Brazil, Guiana and to some extent the west coast of Africa. Their activities ranged from capturing ships, to trade or raids on Portuguese and Spanish settlements in the Caribbean, and included trade with the Indians. The Iberian colonists were being supplied all of their African slaves through a monopoly held by the Portuguese who were the sole possessors of West African slave ports at this time. Spanish ships under increasing harassment from French and English pirates throughout the 16th century were unable to supply their colonists with necessary goods from Europe. The French and English had already begun illegal trade with those colonists and the Dutch joined in. Not only were profits available to the Dutch traders in this new market but direct access to exotic goods were an added encitment. Hides, sugar, tobacco, ginger, canafistula, pearls, sarsaparilla, cochineal, indigo, dyewoods and cocoa were available through trade (Goslinga 1917:53). In the 1590's and the first decade of the 1600's Dutch, French and English interests tried to establish colonies and trading posts on the Wild Coast (Guiana area) which depredations by each other and the

Spanish usually destroyed. During this period the Dutch salt carriers outnumbered those ships involved in the illegal trade especially in the area off the coast of Brazil and Punta de Araya (Goslinga 1971:61). The importance of the salt trade in Dutch activity to the Caribbean is illustrated by the slow-down of excursions at the enactment of a truce between Spain and the Netherlands in 1609 (Goslinga 1971:24). Salt again became available from the Iberian Peninsula and the trip to the New World was no longer cost-effective. This truce ended in 1621 and the Dutch salt carriers once again returned to the Caribbean. The Spanish in the interim had fortified the salt pan at Punta de Araya, which had been (prior to the truce) a major source of salt and the Dutch were forced into a search for new sources. Although pans were found on the Brazilian coast they were considered "inferior in quality" and soon the salt traders were visiting Bonaire, Tortuga (off the Venezuelan coast) and St. Maarten (Goslinga 1971:29). The Spanish and Dutch engaged in numerous skirmishes over the various salt pans. The Dutch fortified the pans at Tortuga in 1638 and St. Maarten in 1631.

The year 1621 also marked the beginning of the Dutch West India Company (W.I.C.). This company was organized with the aim to carry on the war with Spain through privateering, raiding and illicit trade with the Spanish New World colonies. The W.I.C. also allowed a free enterprise system of licensed traders and privateers within its charter

area (Goslinga 1971:108). In the early years of its charter, the company was extremely successful at harassing and disrupting the Spanish and Portuguese trade from West Africa, the Caribbean and South America. In 1629 the W.I.C. successfully began their conquest of Portuguese North Brazil with the capture of Pernambuco (Goslinga 1971:150-211). Dutch activity was intense with raids on Puerto Rico, Cuba, Brazil and West Africa.

During this same period the French and English began colonization of the Lesser Antilles. The 1620's saw the English and French begin their joint settlement of St. Christopher (St. Kitts) and the English colonized Barbados and Nevis. The Dutch traders arrived almost immediately bringing supplies from Europe sorely needed by the new settlers and are credited with saving the inhabitants of St. Kitts in 1628 and 1630 through their trade. The Dutch took in return tobacco and cotton as well as allowing credit on the next season's crop (Bridenbaugh 1972:15, 16; Mims 1912:20-21). During this period, this traffic was directly from ports in the Netherlands or by way of Cape Verde and included stops at salt pans. This trade was the beginning of an important relationship between the Dutch and the French and English colonists. The Dutch, having more ships came frequently to the islands, and charged cheaper prices for their merchandise than the colonists' mother countries. This made them popular with the colonists and it will be

seen, instilled a type of mercantile loyalty that would later be hard to disperse.

The Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company was very interested in trade with the French and English on St. Kitts and Nevis. The Dutch settlement of St. Maarten in 1630 produced a base for trade with these islands as well as providing a station for privateering and an important source of salt.³ St. Maarten quickly rose in importance; Dutch ships returning from Brazil stopped there to load salt. Salt was still of major importance to the West India Company and accounted for two-thirds of the support of the garrison in New Holland (Goslinga 1971:260-61).

The capture and destruction of this valuable port at St. Maarten by the Spanish in 1633 probably led to the search for a new port to continue these activities. St. Eustatius (Figure 2), unlike St. Maarten which was settled by the Amsterdam Chamber of the W.I.C., was colonized with permission of the Zeeland Chamber. Indeed the first Dutch inhabitants named the island New Zeeland. In 1636 Pieter van Corselles and 50 colonists, after inspection of several other islands, landed on St. Eustatius. The settlers built their fort, Ft. Oranje, on the site of an abandoned French fort; the island was unoccupied when they arrived (Hartog 1976:20-21). This lack of native or other European inhabitants, the fact that the roadstead was to the west of the land and consequently protected from winds, and its

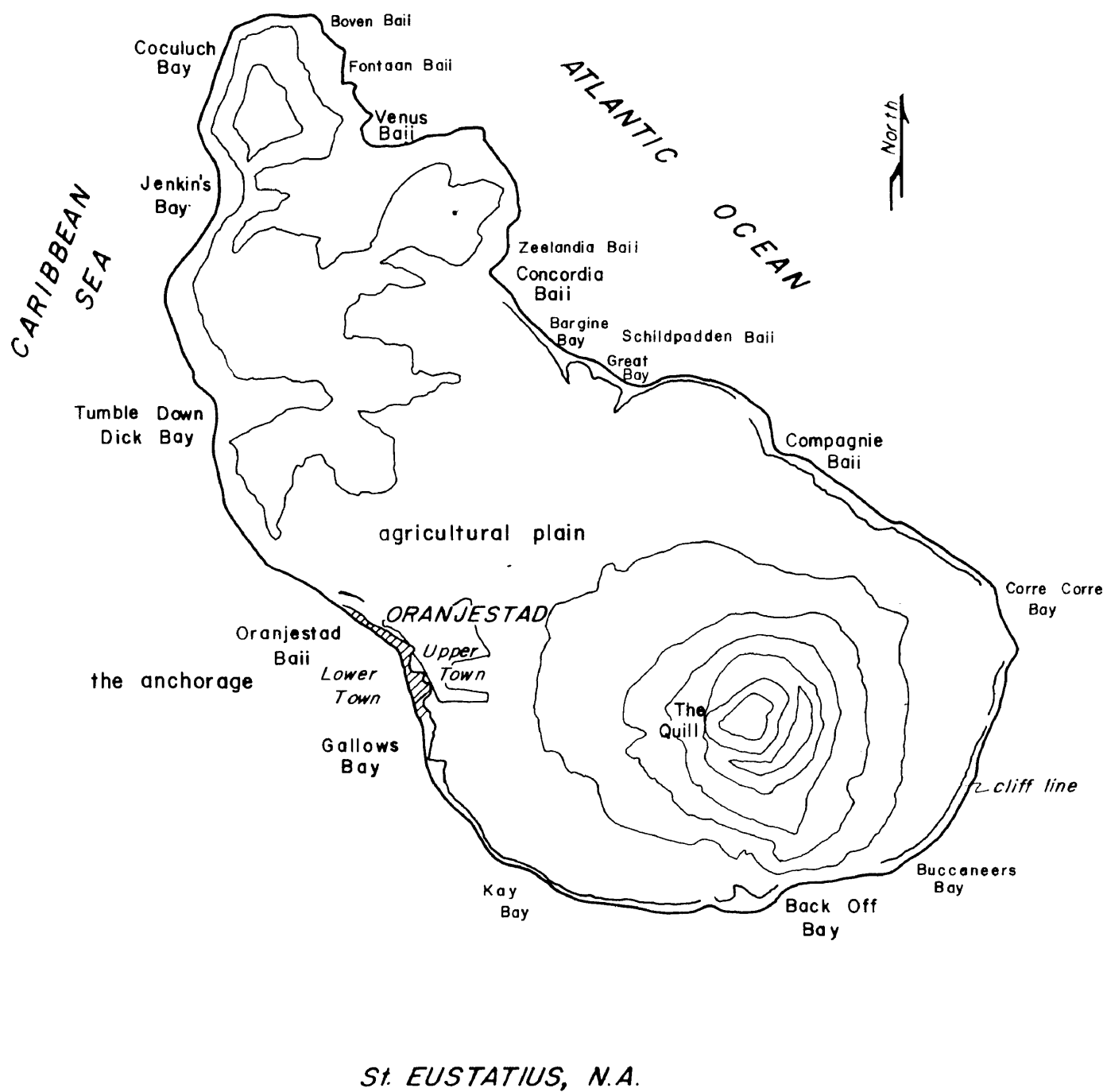


Figure 2.

closeness to St. Christopher, Nevis and Antigua are all cited as reasons for the preference for its settlement (Hartog 1976:20).

The profit from cultivation of tobacco was apparently a major lure for settlers to the island and the first shipment of tobacco grown on Statia arrived in Flushing in 1638. Indigo and cotton were also probably cultivated. The usual agreement between the Company and its colonists was that the W.I.C. agreed to buy the products grown by the settlers, and certainly this must have also been the arrangement on Statia. Consequently, the colonists acted as suppliers to the company. The W.I.C. generally maintained monopolies on salt and slaves (Attema 1976:26). St. Eustatius appears to have played little part in the interisland trade network in the colony's first years. The fact that, unlike St. Maarten, Statia lacked salt pans and natural sources of drinkable water could be cited as major deterrents to full participation in the trade.

During this same period the W.I.C. launched a force to capture Curacao, already occupied by the Spanish. In 1634 the island was easily taken and the Dutch again had access to the local salt pans (Goslinga 1971:270). Throughout the 1620's, 30's and 40's the Dutch made other attempts at settlements throughout the Americas. In North America the Dutch expanded their New Netherlands holdings up the Hudson River, participating in the fur trade as well as trade with

the nearby English colonies, which lasted until 1664. In South America the W.I.C. began their campaign against the Portuguese in Brazil with the capture of Pernambuco in 1629, finally taking all of Northern Brazil by 1635. In 1625 there were Dutch along with the English on St. Croix, and from 1628 to 1630 and then again from 1633 to 1636 the Dutch occupied Tobago. There was also an attempt to establish themselves on the northern coast of Trinidad circa 1636-1637. Dutch along with French were killed in 1638 on Tortuga in an attack by the Spanish. The Dutch made numerous settlements on the Wild Coast with little success until the late 17th century (Goslinga 1971:274, 430; Bridenbaugh 1972:417).

This settlement activity was paralleled and surpassed by the French and particularly the English in the Caribbean. In fact, the one area in which the Dutch gained ascendancy was in trade. The search for new markets for growing industries and for profits, formed the driving force behind Dutch activity in the Caribbean. In contrast to other European countries, the Dutch had no problems with over-population or religious suppression and so lacked these prime motivations for colonization (Goslinga 1971:311).

Top items sought in trade by the Dutch were hides, wood, tobacco and sugar and to a lesser extent cocoa and indigo. Hides brought about a yearly circuit of 20 ships to Cuba and Hispaniola at a value of 800,000 guilders per year (Goslinga

1971:55). The northern coast of Venezuela saw high traffic for tobacco in exchange for cloth and hardware (Goslinga 1971:55). The majority of vessels were used for procuring salt, estimated at one hundred ships annually in the first decades of the 17th century; total cargoes equalling 7,000,000 guilders per year (Goslinga 1971:56). The Dutch also participated in the shipping of indentured servants from Ireland to St. Kitts and Barbadoes in the 1620's (Bridenbaugh 1972:64).

In the 1620's and 30's the Dutch were building up their trade in African slaves, at first supplying most to their own colonies. In 1626 they were transporting slaves from Angola to the Amazon and Wild Coast, 1629 saw shipment to New Netherlands and in the 1630's New Holland became a source of demand (Goslinga 1971:343). For the Dutch the first big rise in slave trade activity came with the conquest of Northern Brazil circa 1637. The Portuguese already had established a thriving sugar industry there and the Dutch stepped in, frequently kept the Portuguese on to run the plantations. Black slaves were the standard source of labor, and the West India Company rapidly captured the slave ports in Africa to supply their "new" colony. Curacao, captured in 1634, probably played little part in the slave trade prior to the year 1640, and Brazil remained the chosen port of call for the cargos from Angola (Goslinga 1971:343, 353). The demand for slaves was high in Brazil during this period and said to be 15,000 slaves per year (Goslinga

1973:351). The trip to Brazil also allowed for a return cargo of sugar. The change to major supplier of African slaves to all of the Caribbean arose from the conflict between the Portuguese and Spanish in 1640 and the subsequent dissolution by the Spanish of the Portuguese-held Asiento (Davies 1961:118). Spanish colonists appealed to the Dutch on Curacao for slaves. In 1639 slaves brought to Curacao were also requested to be sent to St. Christopher and in 1642 there was another request to Curacao for slaves to be sent to St. Eustatius. Efforts increased to make Curacao a major slave depot; in 1641 a resolution was passed to the effect that all captures of slaves by W.I.C.-commissioned ships must be brought to Curacao and sold to the authorities there (Goslinga 1971:351-352).

The 1640's mark the introduction of the cultivation of sugar cane into the Lesser Antilles although some historians maintain it began in the previous decade (Davies 1961:119). The Dutch are credited with instigating this change of crops, which was to have such a great economic effect on these islands. These merchants brought the knowledge gained from the Portuguese in Brazil to the English and French planters, along with the equipment necessary to process it (Parry 1961:113). Incentive for this change lay in the falling tobacco prices in the 1630's. Sugar proved itself a good replacement crop as the prices remained stable and in fact it was worth more per acre than tobacco by the 1640's (Davies 1961:119; Parry 1961:114).

The Portuguese uprising against the Dutch in Northern Brazil in 1640 also led to migrations of Dutch sugar planters many of whom brought their new expertise to the Caribbean islands.⁴ As the Dutch lost their plantations there, they found a new market for their skills, instructing the colonists of the Caribbean islands in the growth of sugar cane, supplying these planters with credit, the sugar plants themselves, machinery for crushing the cane, and kettles for boiling the juice and crystalizing the sugar (Parry 1961:113). The Dutch also at this time were heavily involved in the slave trade and were able to supply this new industry with the necessary black labor. The 1640's are cited as the period in which the Dutch dominated the slave trade having ousted the Portuguese from their ports in Africa and supplying the Spanish with slaves from Curacao through the newly reissued Asientos. The Dutch dominated the trade of all the colonies in the Americas. English shipping was additionally disrupted in the 40's by the English Civil Wars and the Dutch were there to fill the gap.⁵

A contemporary account of Basse-terre St. Kitts by Charles De Rochefort and translated and published in England by John Davies in 1666 describes the French quarter.

The French and Dutch Merchants, who reside there constantly, are well furnish'd with excellent Wines, Aqua-vitae, and Beer, all sorts of Stuffles, or Silk, or Wooll, fit for the Country, and generally all the refreshments, which being not of the growth of the Island, are yet necessary for the better accommodation of the Inhabitants. All is sold at a reasonable rate, and in exchange for the Commodities growing in the Country (Davies 1666:23).

Theoretically, the English and French islands were only open to trade with merchants of their own countries, but in actuality the Dutch dominated all trade. The Dutch were the major importers and exporters on all the French islands and were seen as dependable, and offering long-term easy credit. The Dutch were satisfied with less profit on the goods they sold and less profit on return shipments to Europe (Mims 1912:50). The great variety of goods available through them, plus these other factors, led to the drainage of the French resources and profits from the Caribbean into the coffers of the Netherlands.

Similar dependence on the Dutch took place in English colonies. The Dutch are reputed to have dominated the West Indies tobacco trade by 1630's (Bridenbaugh 1972:65) and the sugar trade by 1650's (Bridenbaugh 1972:75). Dutch merchants

and sailors settled on the English islands and acted as traders and factors, building warehouses, docks and intermarrying with the islanders (Bridenbaugh 1972:68). In Barbados the Dutch were said to be very supportive and "supplied provisions and servants; they urged and enabled the colonists to try cotton culture; they sold them slaves on easy terms. They performed all of the functions of middlemen that the English merchants failed to do and at lower rates," said Edward Winslow in 1655 (Bridenbaugh 1972:66-67).

Governmental aggravation over this situation led to the Parliamentary Act of 1650 forbidding trade with the Dutch or any foreign nation (Pagan 1982:493). In 1651 the first of the English Navigation Acts was passed. Aimed at the Dutch, this act made it mandatory that all shipping to and from the colonies must take place on English ships (Augier 1964:46) and must come and go directly to English ports (Pagan 1982:494).

It is at this point in time, with protests coming from the English colonies over these restrictions, that we begin to gain insight into Dutch trade activity on St. Eustatius. Goslinga, in his major work on the Dutch in the Caribbean, represents Statia as a mainly agricultural colony and that Curacao, as the slave trade center, controlled the official and vast majority of Dutch trade in the Caribbean area (Goslinga 1971:263). Statia, settled by 50 colonists, grew

slowly and did not gain the 60 members necessary for recognition of patronship until several years later. The major change on Statia over the 20 years following settlement was the switch from tobacco to sugar (Goslinga 1971:263). In contrast, or in conjunction with this view, English agitation over the first Navigation Law spoke of the importance of trade with the Dutch and particularly St. Eustatius. Bridenbaugh claims that there was a steady trade between the English islands and St. Eustatius and St. Maarten by the 1640's and that there were Dutch slavers using St. Eustatius as a base to supply St. Kitts (Bridenbaugh 1972:16, 33).⁶ The Barbadian planters in 1651 stated in "A Declaration Set Forth":

. . .all the old Planters well known how much they have been beholding to the Dutch for their Subsistence, and how difficult it would have ben (without their assistance) ever to have settled this place, and even to this day we are sensible what necessary comforts they bring to us and how much cheaper they sell their Commodities to us then our owne Nation (Bridenbaugh 1971:67).

The most informative source on St. Eustatius during this period is the De Rochefort-Davies volume. De Rochefort states that the population of "St Eustace" numbered "about sixteen hundred men" but does not tell us whether this

calculation includes negro slaves. If this estimate was true, it demonstrated a huge increase in the 15 or so years since the island's settlement. This is even larger than the population of 1715 (1,274) though half as much as in 1779 (3,056), and would indicate a very active colony (Hartog 1976:34, 44; Davies 1666:24).

De Rochefort goes on to state:

This Island is the strongest, as to situation, of all the Caribbies, for there is but one good descent which may be easily defended; so that a few men might keep off a great Army: But besides this natural Fortification, there is in it a Strong Fort which commands the best Haven, the Guns of it carrying a good distance into the Sea (Davies 1666:24-25).

This assessment nicely describes the leeward approach of the island although these "natural" defenses had little effect on the security of the island in the 17th century. Apparently there was just one path to the top of the cliffs at this time and that one was easily defendable from the fort. The only access today that matches this description is the Bay Path, immediately to the north of Fort Oranje (Figure 3).

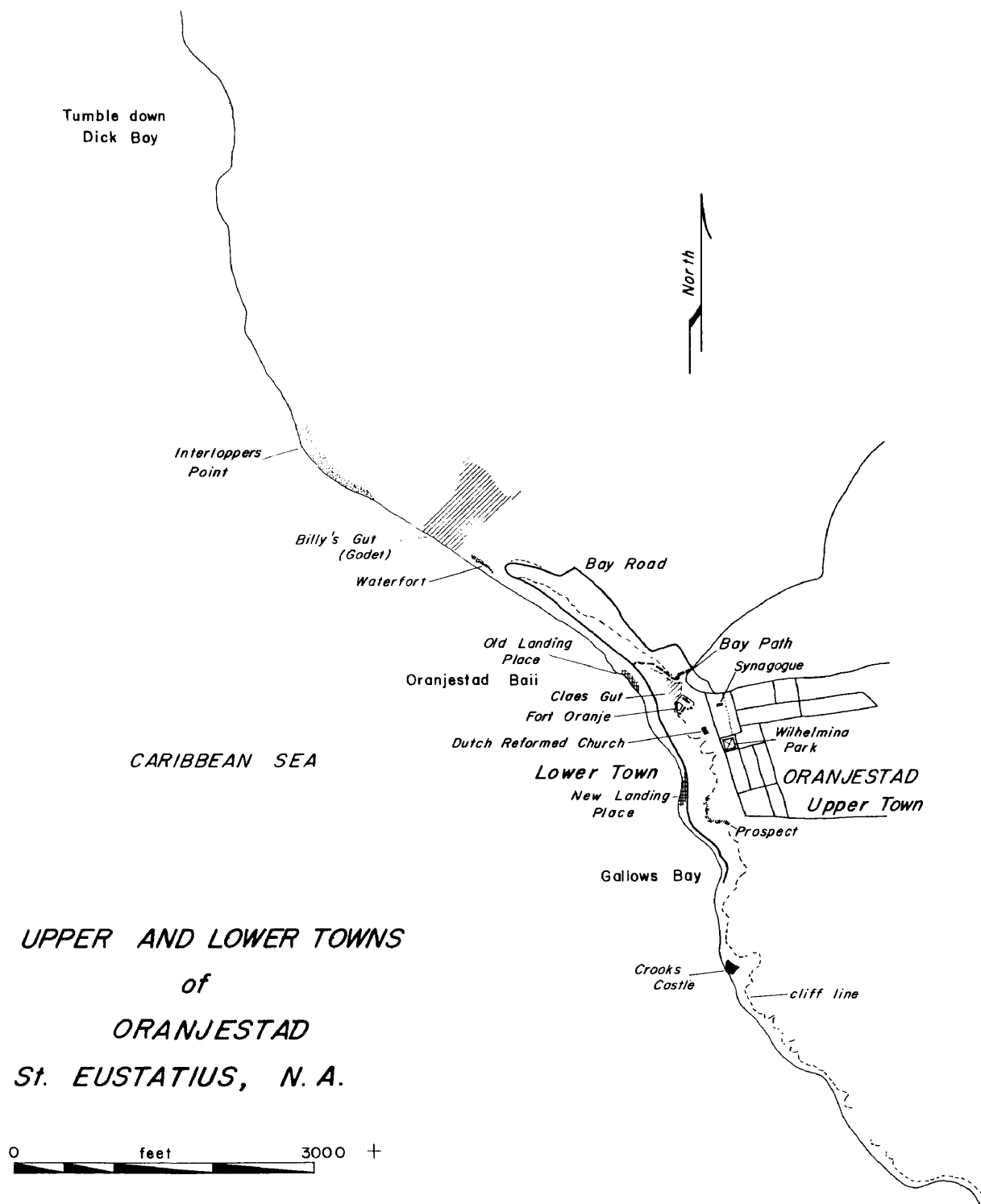


Figure 3.

The Inhabitants have neat houses, and those well furnish'd, as their Country-men have in Holland. Only the very top of the Mountain is cover'd with Wood; all the compass is manur'd. It can hardly be credited what quantities of Tobacco it hath heretofore and still doth yield. (Davies 1666:24-25)

The soil on Statia was apparently far from being played out at this time but the huge "quantities of Tobacco" De Rochefort mentions could be indicative of the trade with neighboring islands.

The Inhabitants are very industrious in keeping on their Lands all sorts of Poultry, as also Swine and Conies [sic], which breed exereamly [sic].

There are no Springs in this Island; but there are now few Houses but have a good Cistern to supply that defect: There are also Store-houses so well furnish'd with all things requisite to life, and the accommodation of the Inhabitants, that many times they have the wherewith to pleasure their Neighbours. The Inhabitants live decently and Christianly, and cannot justly be reproach'd with those crimes which some have impos'd upon them. There is

in the Island one Church, which hath from time
to time been supply'd with very able Pastors .
. . (Davies 1666:24-25)

Certainly this is a description of a prosperous community, although perhaps not as Christainly as described, for other accounts indicated that Statians were participating in raids for Indians to use as slaves (Goslinga 1971:263). The storehouses are described as containing commodities probably from Europe and possibly North America and other colonial areas.

St. Maarten, reoccupied in 1648 after the Spanish abandoned their post there, also had "very fair Houses, large Store-houses, and a considerable number of Negroes [slaves]" but a population smaller than that on Statia. De Rochefort stated "[t]he Dutch are more in number than the French" who were estimated at 300 (Davies 1666:26). The same author named Barbados, next to St. Christophers as "the most frequented by merchants, and the most populous of all the Antilles" (Davies 1666:8).

This account indicates that during this period the Antilles were well supplied by traders and merchants. The English were trying to regain the trade with their own colonists from the Dutch but the French colonists still seem to have been almost completely dependent on the merchants of the United Proviences. Indeed it was in this period when

the inhabitants of the English island were protesting the Navigation Laws (Bridenbaugh 1972:67). The Dutch had gained inroads in this trade during the English Civil Wars and most correspondence from the American colonies to England arrived by way of Holland (Bridenbaugh 1972:67). Barbados received 5,680 slaves from the Dutch in the period between 1640-1645 (Bridenbaugh 1972:33). The Dutch continued to live in the English and French islands as agents or factors and were even using some English colonists as "store house-keepers for the Dutch" (Bridenbaugh 1972:83-84).

The role of St. Eustatius probably changed with the efforts by the English and, slightly later, by the French to impose their monopolies on trade with their colonies. Prior to this Statia served as one of a number of possible links in the massive trade between Amsterdam, Middleborough and Flushing and the Caribbean islands. As the English succeeded in closing down direct trade, the Dutch were forced to retreat to more indirect channels, maintaining warehouses on the French section of St. Kitts and on their own islands. These restrictions on trade were unpopular with the English and French colonists; still dependent on the Dutch for slaves, sugar manufacturing equipment and other commodities, these islanders appealed in written protests to their government (English) or staged riots (French) reputed to be incited by the Dutch.

While the loss of Dutch Brazil (New Holland) in 1653 to the Portuguese marked the end of any true power or wealth in the Dutch W.I.C., the troubles with England over trade restrictions certainly helped in weakening the company (Goslinga 1971:320). The capture of 24 Dutch vessels in a Barbados port by a Cromwellian fleet in 1652 (captured because of defying the Navigation Act) illustrates in one instance the size of this trade (Goslinga 1971:319). The English capture of Jamaica in 1655, and its subsequent fortification, led to distress on the part of the Dutch fearing enforcement of the Navigation Act (Goslinga 1971:371). Those islands which remained Royalist and opposed to Cromwell's Commonwealth continued to trade with the Dutch; arms and ammunition were exchanged for sugar (Goslinga 1971:371). Even after capitulation of these islands to Cromwell, trade with the Dutch continued. The arrival of the 1660's saw a renewed attack of Dutch slave ports in Africa. The Dutch were still the prime suppliers of slaves to Spanish and, even though now illegal, probably to English islands as well (Goslinga 1971:374). The English wished to dominate this trade and proceeded to take heavy action against the Dutch. Dutch slave ports in Africa were captured in 1663, and New Netherlands was captured in 1664. The Dutch under De Ruyter recaptured many of the African ports (Goslinga 1971:379, 380). In 1665 after the formal declaration of the second Anglo-Dutch war, St. Eustatius was attacked by Colonel Edward Morgan commanding buccaneers (in a Caribbean-wide effort to drive out the Dutch). Morgan

died in this attack "from overly zealous activity in the tropical heat." The fort was taken even though it had two months previously received 700 pounds of gun powder from De Ruyter. Those refusing to pledge allegiance to the English King, 250 Dutch men, women and children, were dispatched to Barbados and sold as slaves. Sugar and cotton plantations were destroyed. Fifty thousand pounds of cotton were taken as well as 840 "negroes and Indians," 300 cattle, 50 horses and guns and ammunition (Sainsbury 1965(6):1042). Saba was also captured with 70 slaves as the "take." Tobago too was captured and the only island that remained Dutch was Curacao (Goslinga 1971:389-391; Hartog 1966:128-29). During this period Statia and Saba were occupied by English pirates (Goslinga 1971:392).

With the entrance of the French into the war (the English had captured St. Lucia and threatened the French in the Caribbean) on the side of the Dutch, the conflict turned. The English lost their half of St. Kitts and soon were on the defensive in the Caribbean under attack from the French and Dutch. The Dutch attempted to recapture Statia in November 1666, but through trickery French forces moved in and drove the Dutch away. The French ransacked the island completely, apparently destroying it to the point of being uninhabitable (Goslinga 1971:395). Statia and Saba had to be regained from the French after the Peace of Breda 1667. This war had thoroughly disrupted trade in the Caribbean and with the treaty the Dutch had to formally

agree to the respective English and French monopolies on trade (Goslinga 1971:407-408). All of the islands in the Antilles had suffered especially under attacks and pillaging by buccaneers.

Dutch trade with the other colonists rose and fell and recovered again throughout this period. Even after the 1st Navigation Acts were passed it was advantageous to the colonists to continue trade with the Dutch, and the English and French governments had much trouble trying to end it.

John Scott stated:

The Hollanders that are great encouragers of Plantacions, did at the first attempt of makeing sugar, give great Credit to the most sober Inhabitants, and upon the unhappie Civil warr, that brake out in England, they mannaged the whole trade in our Westerne Collonies, and furnished the Island with Negroes, Coppers, Stills, and all other things appertaining to the Ingenious for makeing of Sugar and that were any other way necessary for their comfortable Subsistance (Bridenbaugh 1972:83).

Dalby Thomas agreed:

The Dutch, who being eternal Prolers about, and Searchers for moderate Gains by Trade, did give Credit to those Islanders, as well as they did to the Portugalls in Brasile, for Black Slaves, and all other necessaries for planting, taking as their Crops throve, the Sugar they made; thus with light but sure Gains, they nourisht the Industrious and consequently Improving Planters, both before, and during the Civill Warrs [1642-1648] in those Islands (Bridenbaugh 1972:83).

During the first Anglo Dutch War (1652-1654) the Dutch from Statia were reputed to have continued trade in "small craft" with no discouragement at the warehouses of Montserrat. An attempt to cramp this trade was demonstrated by the "sequestration of more than a dozen storehouses owned by Dutch merchants on St. Christopher in 1654" (Bridenbaugh 1972:308, 309n). In 1654 there were warehouses reputedly for tabacco, owned by Amsterdam merchants on Montserrat and Antigua (Bridenbaugh 1972:335).

The Dutch warehouses on St. Kitts appear to have been mostly on the French side (prior to 1660) "soe, that the produce of the English plantations was carried either into French grounds, or shipped to Holland, while theire commodities were vended here" (Bridenbaugh 1972:335). In

1659, prior to the second Anglo Dutch War there was argument that the English traders still were not able to make much of trade with St. Christopher because the Dutch still dominated this activity. Even after the second Anglo Dutch War (1665-1667) in 1671 "most of the produce of Nevis and Antigua was carried off to Statia in Dutch sloops" (Bridenbaugh 1971:335).

The situation on the French islands was similar to the English. The French also early on claimed a monopoly on trade with their own colonies but, until sugar became the dominant crop, were never very active in maintaining it (Mims 1912:39). In 1654 "ships of all nations" were trading at Guadeloupe as well as at other French colonies. The French colonists agreed with the English that the Dutch were dependable and gave long term, easy credit; they maintained a variety of goods in stock and were generally satisfied with less profit on imports and charged less in shipping products back to Europe. In the 1650's the French recognized that Dutch ships were cleaner and safer than French ships for the Atlantic passage (Mims 1912:46, 50). The Dutch undercut and out-supplied the few French ships which came to the colonies; the French merchants were hampered by French duties. In 1663 a fire broke out on St. Christophers and burned down more than 60 Dutch storehouses, the loss was estimated at over 2,000,000 livres and the products destroyed included "salt beef, bacon, wine, oil, brandy, flour, and cloth" (Mims 1912:47). Probably much of

the trade went on directly with Amsterdam and Zeeland ports; a 1662 French writer said that 100 to 120 large Dutch ships traded in the French Antilles annually (Mims 1912:54).

With the founding of a new French West India Company in 1664, the French government increased their efforts to regain the profits of their colonies from the Dutch. Two previous companies were weak and ineffective. To begin with, this company had limited success, increasing trade somewhat but frequently having to get the stock for their warehouses from Holland. There seems to have been a small increase in French private traders by 1668. In spite of bans, illicit trade continued, frequently taking place in small inlets and creeks at night especially between Statia and St. Kitts (1669-70). As on the English islands, French governors and other officials participated in this trade with the Dutch. Colbert was determined to stop the Dutch involvement with France's subjects and in 1669 sent the warning to one of the island's governors to

Keep special watch on the Dutch established at St. Eustatius, who will miss no opportunity to employ every means to sell their merchandise in the French islands and to carry away the products thereof (Mims 1912:186).

Prior to 1670, France had few sugar refineries, and Dutch ships were taking almost all of the sugar produced in

the French colonies back to Holland to be refined. In 1664 almost all refined sugar used in France came to them from the Dutch (Mims 1912:262, 280). The Dutch traders supplied the French islands with all types of cloth, "clothing, hats, shoes, utensils for farm and household and implements used in sugar mills" (Mims 1912:330). In 1668 Du Tertre claimed that the French were getting lumber from Saba (Mims 1912:329). In a year's time from 1666 to 1667 the Dutch supplied Guadeloupe and Martinique with at least 1,200 to 1,300 slaves (Mims 1912:284).

Curacao up to 1760 was the main source of livestock, horses and asses and even camels; and the French, although hampering this trade, never seem to have succeeded in taking it over. After 1680 the French colonists gained the same from the Spanish at Porto Rico. Livestock also came from Ireland and Norway, presumably mostly through the Dutch, as did the majority of salt beef (Mims 1912:327, 208). This trade in livestock and slaves by the Dutch was very important,

. . .for the Dutch have been accustomed to bring every year horses from Curacao and Ireland - a thing which French merchants will not do - and if the planters cannot replace the negros and horses which die, they will suffer seriously (Mims 1912:188-189).

The French colonists were also dependent on the traders, Dutch and English, for much of their own, and their slaves' foods, by 1655 deeming it more profitable to grow more sugar and tobacco and to rely on trade for food stuffs (Mims 1912:311).

In the 1670's the attempts to enforce the French bans on trade with foreigners resulted in riots and rebellions on the French islands. French governors reported back to Colbert that they were enforcing the bans with supposedly dire results for the Dutch.

The quantity of merchandise is so great at St. Eustatius that the Dutch do not know what to do with it and are forced to sell it at very low prices to the English at Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua . . . The Dutch will certainly be ruined so far as the islands are concerned . . . for they will be obliged to see their merchandise perish or to send it back to Europe . . . (Mims 1912:207).

In actuality the bans had uneven success, and probably the major effect was to reduce quantity and to make the trade route, now more firmly illegal, convoluted. In 1670 it was noted that local merchants could avoid the ban on foreign traders by transporting their sugar to Statia and then loading it onto Dutch ships (Mims 1912:191).

Slaves continued to arrive on the French and English islands through slave traders on St. Eustatius even though the English were now more able to bring in their own supplies (Bridenbaugh 1972:254). Tobacco was no longer a major crop, sugar having taken its place, and was generally only grown by the poorer less-landed planters. The quality of leaf had dropped but these farmers on Nevis, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda and Anguilla were still able to sell their tobacco to the Dutch from St. Eustatius (Bridenbaugh 1972:277). In 1672 "Dutch sloops and colonial shallops had carried . . . 400,000 pounds of Leeward Island leaf to Statia" (Bridenbaugh *ibid.*). English traders frequently refused to take the "poor man's tobacco and lowest grade of moscovado" through the second half of the 17th century, but the Dutch continued to act as a market for such (Bridenbaugh 1972:277).

During the third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674), in which the French also were involved, Statia was attacked by the French and English. The capture of Statia in 1672 by a force from the English Leeward Islands preceded a French party from St. Kitts with the same goal but the Statians preferred to surrender to the English. Saba was consequently captured as were Tortola and Virgin Gorda (in Virgin Islands) by the English. St. Maarten unscathed in the second Anglo Dutch War, was taken by the French from the other side of the island (Goslinga 1971:469-470). In 1673 a

Dutch force recaptured Statia, transported part of the population which had sided with the English captors to Curacao.⁷ English prisoners were sent to St. Kitts. Two hundred slaves were taken and also were sent to Curacao. Thirty-seven thousand pounds of sugar came from two captured ships. This Dutch squadron then destroyed the fort and houses and abandoned the island. English and French from neighboring islands rushed back to Statia, but again the English arrived first and continued to hold the island. This Dutch squadron went on to take New Netherlands (Goslinga 1971:470; see Haring 1966:128-129). It was with the treaty between England and United Provinces in 1674 that the Dutch were forced to recognize English naval superiority. The United Provinces regained Saba and Statia but lost its possessions in the Virgin Islands and North America (Goslinga 1971:470, 472-473). Hostilities with the French continued and peace was not declared until 1678. Statia and Saba were finally restored to the Dutch.

In the interim, the Dutch West India Company was dissolved and a new company with the same name was formed. Unable to outfit its own ships for war in the West Indies, it granted letters of marque to Dutch ships to act as privateers against the French in the waters off of Africa (Goslinga 1971:478). Curacao did well as a result of this activity. In 1682 Statia was sold by its patrons to the new Dutch West India Company for 6,000 guilders (Geyl 1964:365).

Within six years the Dutch had apparently recovered at least some of their illegal networks with the English and French. An English company agent on Nevis in 1686 stated that ". . .some of the chiefs of this Island and St. Christopher's often discourse of the greater convenience of buying Negroes from the Dutch on St. Eustatius than from the Company" (Bridenbaugh 1972:260).

A Captain George St. Loe of the English Navy gives a description of the resumed illegal trade with St. Eustatius.

There are generally several ships lying at Statia, any two of them large enough to carry a year's produce of that island. All the rest take their load [from] the British Colonies. On their way from Holland they generally touch at all our islands on pretext of watering. They generally stay a week, when all the planters go aboard and not only agree for what is on board, but watch their opportunity to get it ashore, to the loss of the revenue and of the [English] merchants who, having paid the duty, cannot sell so cheaply. Having disposed of their cargos, the ships go to Statia where they wait for the [English] planters to send their sugar, which they punctually do, though the English merchants, their creditors, for some thousands, cannot

get a pound of sugar from them. Most of the islands have so many bays and inlets that it is impossible for the customs-house officers to check the shipping of the sugar, and the Dutch ships generally send their long boats to St. Christopher's once or twice a week on pretense of getting water, though one boat load of water would last them a month, but in reality to load sugar. Being loaded, the Dutch ships sail direct to Holland, without paying the King a penny of duty. Brandy and wine are also smuggled into the island from French St. Christophers (Bridenbaugh 1972:336).

Montserrat tobacco was still being sent to Statia in 1684 (Bridenbaugh 1972:277).

In 1689 during King Williams War, Statia was taken by the French and then captured by the English who held it until 1696 (Goslinga 1978:81). The capture of Statia by the French was instigated because the island was a ". . . valuable trading post, well stocked with slaves, sugar, and European merchandise to be sold to all comers, particularly to the French colonists, this in the face of all efforts to suppress them. The place had long been a sore spot to the King. . ." (Crouse 1943:149). The Dutch colonists and soldiers were allowed to leave the island for Nevis. The French destroyed the plantations and town, reserving the

fort in which they garrisoned troops. The goods taken in the attack - horses, slaves, furniture and merchandise - were sold in Martinique. The profit to the French, after the deduction of expenses was 345,656 livres (Crouse 1943:151). Elsewhere it was estimated at 1 3/4 million dollars (Hartog 1976:33).

England, the United Provinces's ally in this war against France recaptured Statia in 1869-90) and held it until peace in 1697 (Bridenbaugh 1972:419).

Throughout the 17th century Dutch activity in the Caribbean focused first on salt, and trade with and plunder of Spanish colonists. As the French and English settled in the Leeward Islands, the Dutch arrived to trade and shortly thereafter established bases on neighboring islands (Statia, Saba, and St. Maarten). In addition, with their occupation of African slave ports, they supplied the Portuguese, their own colonists especially in Brazil, and the Spanish colonists, particularly on the north coast of South America. As sugar became the dominant crop in the Antilles (at their instigation), the Dutch supplied slaves necessary for this industry.

Curacao dominated the slave trade for the Dutch mainly because of its proximity to the coast of South America. The holders of the Asiento used the Dutch as middlemen in their legal contracts to supply the Spanish colonists with slaves. In the second half of the 17th century the English began participating in the slave trade, first to supply their own colonists and to drive out the Dutch from this lucrative business and then to expand to other colonies. Jamaica became the center for their trade in slaves. Great competition existed between the Dutch and English for the Spanish slave trade (Goslinga 1971:354, 337). Generally the Dutch held the upper hand in this because of their contracts to supply whoever held the Asiento. Competition also came from the Danes and Swedes (Goslinga 1971:390). Dutch slave traders had to have contracts to legally participate in the company's monopoly on this activity. Always a problem to the W.I.C. was the activity of the Dutch interlopers - lorredraaiers - who participated in the slave trade illegally. Curacao, the center of the Dutch slave trade, was administered by Amsterdam; and, although rivalry existed, slave ships from Zeeland were permitted to bring their cargos there (Goslinga 1971:366). Evidence that St. Eustatius was used by the illegal slave traders as well as by official W.I.C. trade comes from the French Jesuit priest Labat who wrote of his stay in the Caribbean from 1693 to 1705. The French ship carrying him stopped at "St. Eustache" to land a settler that they had picked up from Saba, and also to deliver mail from St. Thomas. Labat mentions an

encounter with another ship anchored "leeward of the fort off a place known as l'Interloppe, because this is the usual spot where these ships anchor" (Eaden 1970:210). The delicacy of this ship's activity was demonstrated when the French vessel accidentally sailed too close and there was an exchange of gun fire. Labat describes the interlopers as those outside of the English, French and Dutch slave trade monopolies. Many had shore agents and according to Labat the agents of the different companies generally avoided confrontation (Eaden 1970:61, 62, 210). St. Eustatius was the site of slave trade, some originating directly from Africa, some transferred from Curacao (for sale to English and French, substandard and rejected for sale to Asiento) and an unknown number from interlopers. It should be noted that Labat's sighting of the interloper vessel was after the sale of Statia to the W.I.C. Regular use of anchorage off Statia by the interlopers would suggest that West India Company's officials on the island probably were corrupted by bribes to turn their back on this activity. It cannot be determined whether the slaves were ever brought to shore or if Statia was just used as a contact point with buyers, making direct transfers to other vessels. The construction of a three room guard house on Tumbledown Dick Bay in 1740 could indicate a later attempt to stop this trade (Hartog 1976:26). St. Eustatius' official position in the slave trade is hard to determine. Curacao certainly played the major role for the W.I.C. in this activity and surely made use of Statia as a depot in dealing with the Spanish,

English and French islands in that area of the Caribbean. Illegal trade in slaves, outside the company's monopoly, was a constant fact, and complaints against this began as early as 1624 (Goslinga 1971:360).

The 18th Century

The 18th century brought on a gradual rise in St. Eustatius' fortunes. Statia was attacked but withstood French filibusters in 1703 (Goslinga 1979:81). In 1705 the islands population stood at 606, half being slaves (Hartog 1976:34). By 1709 there appears to have been some economic recovery as another attack by French filibusters netted much booty (Goslinga 1979:81). The commander of the island, Lemont, was surprised in his dressing gown and slippers. The take from this attack was such that the pirates "sailed to Martinique in vessels loaded to sinking-point with goods and slaves" (Geyl 1964:367). Three hundred and twenty slaves were captured (Emmanuel 1970:318, 527).

The Dutch reoccupied St. Eustatius, and it was again attacked by French pirates (led by Cassard) in 1713. The island had not recovered its wealth since the 1709 attack, and the booty was smaller. Thirty-four slaves, 22 head of cattle, 23 turkeys and 67 fowl was all the reward these pirates gained.

By 1715, 1,274 people lived on the island, 750 slaves and 524 non-slaves (an increase over 1705 with 606 total population, with half slaves) (Hartog 1976:34). Hartog claims that the island did not see economic recovery until about 1750 and that is credited to a short rise in slave trade activity (Hartog 1976:50, 35, 36) and an increase of trade with the North American colonies. The population appears to have been relatively stable through the second decade of the 18th century with only a minor drop to 1,204 inhabitants in 1722 (Emmanuel 1970:519).

Although some trade with the Spanish colonies undoubtedly occurred, St. Eustatius' rise in fortune was connected with traffic with the French and British West India colonies and the British North American colonies. The British had eclipsed the Dutch in the slave trade but trade restrictions on British colonies produced a need for intermediaries. British West Indian islands' production of sugar could not keep up with rising demand for sugar in England much less supply what was desired in the North American colonies (Armytage 1953:38). The French islands filled in the gap as well as supplying molasses for the growing New England rum distilleries. As early as 1681, during Colbert's attempt to impose the French monopoly on trade, Guadeloupe and Martinique petitioned the French government to be allowed to trade with the Boston area. The French islands were not allowed to send molasses and rum home and desired to trade these items with the New England

colonies for livestock and salt meats, but their petition was denied (Mims 1912:222).

England tried to restrict this trade particularly through the efforts of the British sugar planters who did not wish to see the market glutted with French sugar. Higher duties were imposed on foreign (non-British) produce but trade continued. French sugar was re-keged in St. Eustatius to appear as British sugar to avoid these duties (Goslinga 1971:82). Statia was not the only island participating in this trade, and smuggling even occurred directly on the British islands (Armytage 1953:43). North American shipping frequently took their products, flour, grain and woods, directly to the foreign ports in the French and Spanish islands. The ships officially cleared for Jamaica went instead to Curacao, St. Thomas, Surinam and other foreign islands to get French sugar (Sargent 1964:77). Loading at Jamaica they then proceeded to the other islands and finished their loads with French sugar and molasses. The North American colonies brought grain, wheat, flour, biscuits, salted pork, hams, beef, peas, butter, beans, corn and salted fish. Lumber, staves, headings, shingles and naval stores such as tar, pitch and turpentine were in demand as well as candles, beeswax, geese and cattle. The North American traders took back rum and taffia, molasses, sugar, coffee, mohogany, logwood, salt, ginger, cocoa, citrus fruits and juices, wines from the Madeiras and Europe, and slaves (Sargent 1964:10, 12, 13, 14, 62). St.

Eustatius rose in importance because the French governors would send permits for trade on their island to Statia to be sold there (Pares 1956:60; Pares 1936:377). North American agents established themselves on Statia to facilitate trade with the French islands. Goods were often sent there on speculation.

St. Eustatius also supplied European and East India goods. Coarse linen "Dutch stripes," used to clothe negro slaves were sold to the French and Spanish; sales were estimated in the middle of the century at L100,000 (Sterling) a year (Pares 1936:383; Armytage 1953:36-37). French island products coming through Statia were estimated at 40 to 50 large ships per year (Armytage 1953:36).

Wars between the European powers seem to have had little ill-effect on Statia's trade, increasing only the hazard of capture of ships trading there. In 1738, 1750 and 1759 the British captured ships which had been trading at Statia (Hartog 1976:65). Generally the British navy and privateers only harassed those vessels between Statia and the French islands (Pares 1936:56).

Pares states that

[o]nly three ports - Bridgetown in Barbados, Kingston in Jamaica, and above all the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, were markets of

conspicuous size or wide commercial connections. The capitals of the lesser islands were glutted by a very few cargoes St. Eustatius was, in a sense, the commercial metropolis of the neighbouring British and French islands: many small craft brought produce to its road and the best news of markets was to be had there. For these reasons many [North American ship] owners instructed their captains to touch first at St. Eustatius for news (Pares 1956:84, 84n).

The Seven Years War (1756-1763) greatly increased the fortunes of St. Eustatius and firmly established the island as a smuggling center to the North American colonists and to the British and French West Indies. When hostilities broke out between the North American colonists and England, the Dutch on Statia proved a major source of guns and gunpowder to the rebels. St. Eustatius had previously made sales of these items to other Caribbean islands. One instance in which the results were less than desired took place in 1758 over the sale of muskets to the commander of Guadeloupe. The Statian guns were made as commodities for the African slave trade and three-quarters of them burst when first fired (Pares 1936:254).

By the time hostilities broke out between the North American colonists and the British, St. Eustatius played

host to a diverse group of merchants. Janet Schaw, a Scottish woman touring the colonies, arrived at Statia in 1775.

[W]e landed on St. Eustatius, a free port, which belongs to the Dutch; a place of vast traffic from every quarter of the globe. The ships of various nations which rode before it were very fine. . . I understand however that the whole riches of the island consist in its merchandize, and that they are obliged to the neighbouring Island for subsistence; while they in return furnish them with countraband commodities of all kinds.

But never did I meet with such variety; here was a mercht vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc., etc. They all wear the habit of their country, and the diversity is really amusing. The first that welcomed us ashore were a set of Jews. As I had never seen a Jew in his habit, . . . I could not look on the wretches without shuddering (Schaw 1971:136).

Traffic was very high. In 1774 Oranjestad Bay played host to "as many as 20 American ships" at once, and 1779 reputedly saw 3,000 ships for the year (Goslinga 1979:83).

The North American and West Indian Gazetteer published in 1779, states that the island had a population of 1,000 whites and 1,500 negroes.⁸

St. Eustatius was not the only port used by the North Americans during the war. After the North Americans banned trade with the British West Indies, the various ship's destinations were usually stated as to the "Foreign West Indies" allowing the captains to use their best judgment in gaining the necessary cargos. Pierre Begozzat, a French agent in "St. Pierre Martinico," communicated trade information with the New Hampshire committee of safety in 1776 and Maryland's convention made plans to establish an agent at Cape Francois, Hispaniola in 1775 for trade with France (Clark 1964(1):972, 973 and (3):1297). A report from Antigua in 1775 warns of American traders who were "offering at the Dutch, Danish, and French Islands in these seas unlimited prices for ammunition and warlike stores" (Clark 1964(1):1170, 1171). The Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix as well as Spanish ports were destinations for procuring supplies (Allen 1962:159, 160; Clark 1964(1):1055). In 1777, British ships were cruising off of Havanna, Monte-Cristi (Hispaniola), Cape Francois, Cape Nicholas Mole, St. Dominique and Curacao as well as St. Eustatius in attempts to stop North American trade (Clark 1964(7):1046).

St. Eustatius appears to have become the major center for this trade. The Dutch government, trying to avoid war with the British, imposed bans on trade with the North American rebels, the penalty for such being 1,000 guilders (Force 1937(2):463), which caused some confusion on Statia itself. Abraham Van Bibber, American agent stationed on St. Eustatius, in communication with the Maryland Council of Safety in 1776, gave indication of methods of trade there. Martinique had been used to avoid the ban, but Van Bibber reports that the Dutch on Statia

. . .are now very Jealous of the French's running away with all their Trade. All kinds of goods and Warlike Stores are very Plenty here [Statia] and much more Reasonable then they are at the French Islands and All your goods purchased here, and at a very great expense and Risque too they are [sent] up to Martinique to be reshipped to Maryland in your vessels as they all Arrive there. Your Flower, Bread and Tobacco is all sent down here to be sold as this is allways the best Markett for your Produce especially Tobacco which this is the Only Markett for, All these goods are burthened with a very heavy freight from Martinique here. . . (Clark 1964(7):213).

Shipments from the Netherlands, Amsterdam, in particular, were rapidly increasing and some American agents established themselves there to order the necessary items and monitor the sale of American commodities (Miller 1979:39). Constant complaints by the British ambassador in Holland led to the subterfuge of shipments of ammunition to be declared for Africa but in reality to be destined for Statia where they found quick sale (Jameson 1903:687). British protests also were able to stop ships temporarily in the Amsterdam harbor in 1775 and in 1776 which were bound for Statia with arms and powder (Miller 1970:39; Clark 1964(1); 432, 434; 1964(3):481). Technically guns and ammunition sent to Statia were legal, but the sale of it to the North American rebels was not.

Individuals acting as agents, factors or ordinary merchants are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Some Americans gained Danish or Dutch island citizenship possibly to avoid detection or to avoid special duties or tariffs. Abraham Van Bibber, whose home was in Virginia lived on St. Eustatius and acted as agent to Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina (Clark 1964(4):467, 468). "Messrs Menard, la Combe and Theare, Merchts in St. Eustatia" were identified as "one of the first houses and who do the most business" in a 1776 letter (Clark 1964(3):1176). "Hendrick Pondt", "Gebroedes Mendis", "J. and M. Bykers," and "Demoulin and Co." were all source of goods for a shipment by Van Bibber to Virginia in 1776 (Clark (4):467, 468). In the same year "Messrs Robert

and Corns. Stevenson", merchants on Statia, were suggested as recipients for gun powder shipped from Amsterdam or Rotterdam destined for North America and also served as a drop for letters (Clark 1964(4):200).

In 1776 Van Bibber advised the Virginia Committee of Safety of his partnership with Richard Harrison; Van Bibber on Statia and Harrison on Martinique which allowed for more efficient trade connections as Van Bibber explained:

The islands at this time, will, between them, afford all you want; and on tolerable good terms. The more important Articles, we have reason to believe will be yet in greater abundance. Produce of all kinds sell high. But Tobacco is the most profitable Article at present. Goods are generally cheapest here [on Statia], but Martinique (or it's neighbour, St. Lucia) is by far the safest place to send your vessells to (Clark 1964(5):540).

Van Bibber and Harrison consequently are known to have shipped powder to Hampton, Portsmouth and Jamestown (Clark 1964(6):132).

The names of other merchants can be gleaned from the records. A "Jacobus Vanzandt" ordered guns and gun powder

for either St. Eustatius or St. Maarten (Clark 1964(6):412, 413). "Isaac Vandam" is mentioned as a merchant of St. Eustatius (Clark 1964(6):738). "Messrs Thomas and Ashburne" of Statia were involved in the sale of at least one sloop in the trade between France and North America in 1776 (Clark 1964(6):677, 678). "Mr. Cornelius Stevenson" on Statia was suggested as receiver for goods from Europe to North America (Clark 1964(6):1024, 1025). "Mr. Samuel Curson" residing on St. Eustatius served as the agent for the Continental Congress (Clark 1964(7):321). In 1776 flour sent to St. Eustatius from North America was to be delivered to "Mr. Samuel Carson" (Clark 1964(7):1053). Another North American captain on the way to Statia in 1777 was told to call on "Mr. Samuel Curson, Mr. Cornelius Stevenson and Mr. Henricus Godet" (Clark 1964(7):1210).

The Amsterdam business of Horneca, Fizeaux and Company had agents on Statia and other Dutch islands in 1778 to aid in business with the North Americans (The Deane Papers 1920:138-141).

British correspondence in 1776 notes that

Governor DeGraaf is well known to have given more Aid, and Assistance to the American Rebels than any other man in his Government, being by far, the most wealthy, and considerable merchant in St. Eustatia, he of

course, has been the best able to carry on the most extensive Illicit Trade with the Rebellious colonists (Clark 1964(7):586-588, 588).

The Dutch, French, Spanish and North Americans were not the only nationalities with business on Statia during the American Revolutionary War. In 1775 British ships from Antiqua were provisioned in Statia (Clark (3);224); and in 1775 (July) a British ship "called at Eustatius, there was but one Barrel of Gunpowder for sale left - the rest had all been ship'd for America - that the Island was full of British manufactures for the American merchants " (Clark 1964(1):1333).

Admiral Young in 1777 attempted to purchase "10 or 12 good 3 lb. guns" there (Clark (7):487, 488). Until Britain declared war on the United Provinces toward the close of 1780, some Anglo-Dutch trade could legally take place (Jameson 1903:686). The bans on trade between North American colonies and the British West Indies led to hardship in those islands. That British merchants traded at St. Eustatius is illustrated by the fact that 12 large ships coming from England with Hood under convoy in 1781 slipped away and when the island was captured, they were found in the harbor "busily . . . transferring their cargoes to American vessels" (Jameson 1903:703).

The "Connecticut Gazette" in 1776 printed the following information:

By a Vessel from the West Indies, we learn that the Effects of Non-exportation from this Continent, begins to be severely felt in the Islands, where the most ordinary Beef sells from 7 to 8.1 per Barrell, ordinary Flour 6.1 per Barrell, Currency, and but little to be had at any price. The Islands (not believing there would be a Scarcity) have till lately, kept the Produce of the Colonies very low; but finding a scarcity likely to take Place, the Price suddenly rose - They are under terrible Apprehensions from the Negros, whom they are obliged to pinch in their Allowance (Clark 1964(3):1319).

In a "West India Merchants Meeting" in London in 1775 there was argument over how problematic the bans would be. George Walker Esq. from Barbados testified before the House of Commons in 1775 that "North America is truly the granary of the West Indies." From them they received flour and biscuits for the upper class and rice for the sick. Indian corn, bread, meat, sheep, poultry and cattle were all important items supplied to the West Indies by the North Americans (Force 1837(1):1147, 1148, 1722).

In a letter originating in Barbados, sent in 1777, it was stated

the French and Dutch Islands now supply the English islands in the West Indies with many articles and particularly provisions The Americans carry goods to those foreign markets, from whence we are glad to purchase them at an advanced price (Clark 1964(8):274).

Bermudians too participated in trade with the Dutch and French islands, sometimes by going to Statia, registering there as part Dutch and consequently then allowed to go to French islands as neutrals. Dan Jennings, a Bermudian, settled on St. Eustatius to serve as "agent and financial intermediary" to other Bermudians until 1780 (Kerr 1936:57, 58, 106). Bermudians built or bought prize ships and sold them to the Americans at St. Eustatius (Kerr 1936:105).

North American goods used in trade with the West Indies were shipped there in smaller vessels for safety. The items of trade mentioned repeatedly were: "Sperma Ceti Candles" (Clark 1964(3):956), "Fish [salt cod], lamp oil, spermacity, . . . [bushels of] pork, beef, staves, boards, and hoops," "potashes, beaver, lamp oil in casks of 60 gallons, well hooped to goe to Old France". Other items mentioned were: "Carolina Indigo" and especially "Virginy Tobacco of which we [France] consume 30 to 40 million pounds every year" (Clark

1964(3):1297). Produce in general was welcomed (Clark 1964(5):54), flour, bread and indian corn (Clark 1964(5):1194), tar, turpentine, and lumber (Clark 1964(6):1369), rice and Indigo from South Carolina (Clark 1964(8):83, 87; (7):265) horses and other livestock. Much of the communication between North America and the islands concerned what products were in demand and bought the highest prices, what is available in trade and which ports were most favorable. St. Eustatius served as a major route for mail and travel from North America to Europe.

In most cases Americans carried the products back and forth between the continent and the islands, with the Dutch doing transport from their islands to Amsterdam and Europe. French and English ships did most of their own transport and everyone-Dutch, French, English, American, Spanish, Swedish and Danish-participated in inter-island trade.

Gun powder was in high demand by the rebels and allowed for huge profits for the Dutch. Powder bought in Rotterdam at 40 to 41 florins sold for 240 florins a hundredweight in St. Eustatius. Shipments were disguised in tea chests and rice barrels (Jameson 1903:688) and sometimes hidden under molasses (Clark 1964(1):1013-1034). In 1775 Dutch restrictions on the sale of war goods led to verbal subterfuge when a captain of a North American ship complained of his inability to get any "molasses" (which was his code for gun powder) in Statia because of scarcity and

the threat of fines and imprisonment restraining merchants from making such sales (Clark 1964(1):908, 909).

A 1776 complaint sent to England states:

Never was there such a brisk trade at St. Eustatia, as at present, to America, carried on chiefly, I believe, by renegado Englishmen; and though our cruizers now and then take one of their provision vessels; yet they are so numerous, the loss is not felt. . . One of our merchants, who went down a few days ago to St. Eustatia, saw them actually cutting out the British mark, from a bale of goods shipping for America to prepare it for the necessary affidavit (Clark 1964(6):458).

Military intelligence was also an appreciated commodity; "the friends of America in St. Eustatia, and our several islands [British West Indies] send them constant intelligence of everything transacted here, which they insert in their newspaper" (Clark 1964(6):458). Ships papers, particularly destinations and ports of call, were frequently falsified.

Military goods most in demand and available at St. Eustatius were arms, ammunition and cloth. Gun powder, firearms (small arms, "stands of arms" (Clark 1964(4):722;

(3):1109), cannon (Clark 1964 (7):799), "effective Fire Arms fit for Soldiers with Bayonets" (Clark 1964 (7):1242), "musquets", "Brass cannon or Howitzers" (Clark 1964 (8):87; (7):265), shot (Clark 1964 (7):1030), "Chests of Cartidges" (Clark 1964(4):722), gunflints, gun locks (Clark 1964 (8):87), "German steel, for the manufacturing [of] Gun Locks" (Clark 1964(3):124), and lead (Clark 1964(3):956) were all frequently acquired there.

Many colors and types of fabric came through Statia's road: duck, ozenbriggs, Ticklinburgh, woolen cloth (Clark 1964(3):956), common strips, french nuans, greek or dutch Ells, red and yellow strip, blankets (also "Soldiers Blankets"), russian duck canvas, flemish linen, Holland duck, ravens, Russia Drab, coarse sheeting and tent cloth (Clark 1964 (3):956; (4):467, 468; (7):1242; (4):775, 776; (4):310; (7):1019).

"Double and single tin" (Clark 1964(8):87), wine, rum, medicines, fruit, "geneva" (gin) and "india" (tea) went to the northern colonies from Statia. Cutlasses and 20d, 10d and 4d nails as well as "Jesuits Bark" and sugar could be obtained there. Salt was often used to fill out a load (as balast) (Clark 1964(7):1242; (6):122; (4):602, 346; (4):677). Thread, bed ticking, sail twine, letter paper and cordage found there was through the merchants of Statia (Clark 1964(4):775, 776). It was also noted that "English goods are plenty in St. Eustatia" (Clark 1964(4):677).

Other goods could be had there but these were the products requested, listed on manifests and whose arrivals were noted back in the American colonies.

During the six year period from 1774 to 1780 direct commerce took place between Statia and Antigua (Clark 1964(3):224), Amsterdam (Clark 1964(1):432), Flushing, (Jameson 1902:690), North Carolina (Clark 1964(3):472), Newburn (Clark 1964(4):570), Massachusetts (Clark 1964(3):877), Salem (Clark 1964(5):346), Maryland (Clark 1964(3):684), Baltimore (Clark 1964(4):265), New York (Clark 1964(3):1085), Virginia (Clark 1964(4):467, 468), Hampton, Portsmouth, Jamestown (Clark 1964(6):132), Philadelphia (Clark 1964(4):665), Martinique (Clark 1964(4):41), Rotterdam (Clark 1964(4):200), Connecticut (Clark 1964(4):784), France, Bourdeaux (Clark 1964(6):677, 678), St. Kitts (Clark 1964(8):82, 83), St. Croix, Georgia (Clark 1964(3):231), South Carolina (Clark 1964(8):82, 83), Charleston (Clark 1964(7):265), Nantucket (Clark 1964(7):1019), and Bermuda (Kerr 1936:105, 106). This is not an exhaustive list and certainly there was trade there by the British West Indies and England.

St. Eustatius served not only as refuge for vessels avoiding British cruisers but as a first destination for ships captured by American privateers (Allen 1962:198; Clark 1964(7):321, 616, 1131, 1211). Whole, outfitted ships could be bought and sold there (Clark 1964(7):4, 310, 836)

ships could be supplied with necessary hardware (Clark 1964(4):572); and outfitted as privateers (Clark 1964(7):507). Even ships captured by the British and sold at Antigua were bought by, purported, American agents and ended up at Statia where they reentered into the illegal trade network (Clark 1964(8):150).

In 1780, there appears to have been an exodus of Americans from St. Eustatius; the fear being that the British would come ashore to seize their goods (but no one else's) (Jameson 1903:696). A hurricane in October was reputed to have destroyed many buildings and killed four to five thousand people (Jameson 1903:696). In spite of these things when Rodney captured Statia in February 1781, the wealth in merchandize there was considerable.

Rodney wrote

The riches of St. Eustatius are beyond all comprehension; there were one hundred and thirty sail of ships in the road.

In addition he was able to capture six war ships, one large Dutch frigate and five small American ships (Jameson 1903:699, 700). "All the magazines and storehouses are filled, and even the beach covered with tobacco and sugar" (Jameson 1903:700). A convoy of 23 merchant ships and one heavily armed escort vessel had sailed from Statia to return

to Holland a day and a half before but were captured and brought back. From February 3 to March 26 approximately 50 additional American ships were taken by the subterfuge of maintaining the Dutch flag over the island (Jameson 1903:700). Two thousand American merchants and seamen were captured on the island. Many of the ships taken had been completely outfitted at St. Eustatius. The discovery of several thousand tons of cordage on the island would have been particularly exasperating to Rodney, as he had tried to obtain some earlier and had been told there was none available. Contemporary estimates of the worth of the booty exceed 3 million pounds sterling (Jameson 1903:700, 702; Spinney 1969:361, 362).

The goods taken on the island were dispersed, some sold at auction, some taken to British islands such as Antigua and a convoy of loaded merchant ships sent back to England. The ships and European merchandize sold at auction below value reputably found their way back to the French, Spanish and North America rebels. Statia's naval stores flooded Antigua, and Rodney, although seemingly never allowed to do so, offered to dismantle the buildings of the Lower Town to provide for the excess (Spinney 1969:367; Jameson 1903:703, 706). The ships filled with West Indian goods sent to England were captured by the French in the Channel (Jameson 1903:707, 708).

The population of Statia, with the exception of the planters (who were deemed innocent of the trade with England's enemies), was stripped of money, possessions and accounting books. The French fared best and were allowed to leave the island with household goods and slaves; the Dutch and Americans left with household goods only. The male Jews (101) forced to gather in the customs house, were searched and relieved of 8,000 pounds sterling and then shipped to St. Kitts and Antigua (Emmanuel 1970:523; Jameston 1903:704, 705). The St. Kittians who claimed to be storing their goods on Statia solely for safety against attack by the French, also lost all of their goods. They later petitioned Rodney and the House of Commons for retribution (Jameson 1903:702-705; Spinney 1969:365, 366). Although Rodney's intention was to destroy the Lower Town, he was still trying to get permission to do so in late April and probably never did (Jameson 1903:703; Hartog 1976:93). (A hurricane of 1772 reportedly destroyed much of the island's archives and the rest were lost during the 1781 occupation, used as toilet paper by British soldiers [Hartog 1976:95, 95]).

The French were able to take the island from the British in November of 1781 and held it until 1784 when it was returned to the Dutch. On the French capture of the island, all surviving property was returned to the owners (Emmanuel 1970:526). The planters having remained relatively unmolested under British rule had little to recover but the trade networks had been disrupted. St. Croix and St. Thomas

probably absorbed much of the American trade in the lull as did the French islands.

From 1784 to 1795, St. Eustatius was again a free port, open to all. Trade flourished and the population rose to an all time high in 1790 of about 8,000 individuals: 5,140 slaves and 2,984 whites and freedmen (Hartog 1976:52). That prosperity had returned is indicated by the establishment of Statia's first newspaper (1789-1794) which published many notices in Dutch, English and occasionally French. From these papers, scattered bits of information on the island's rising fortune can be gathered. A hat maker established himself on the island in 1790 (St. Eustatius Gazette, June 19, 1790) and the printer, originally from St. Kitts (Hartog 1976:99), advertised numerous types of inks, papers, and bookkeeping supplies. He also appears to have maintained Statia's book store with volumes for sale ranging from Bibles and dictionaries to the "History of Oliver Cromwell", "Goldsmith's History of Rome" and "Voltaire's Letters" (St. E. G. June 19, 1790). Advertisements include one by a "Wm. Mitchel" who wished to sell "white pine boards & plank, Boston Shingles, Ash Oars, India Corn [and] Bermuda Building Lime" (St. Eustatius Gazette, August 17, 1792).

In 1792, "Zimmerman the elder", a new arrival to St. Eustatius and probably connected to a Dutch trading business, states that

The roadstead is always full of Spanish, American, French and English barks that come and go every day and with whom we do business; the Bay is Little Amsterdam. (Hullu 1919:144-150; Appendice C).

Zimmerman estimated the number of warehouses in the Lower Town as about 600. He described the island's provisions as coming from off-island. Vegetables arrived daily from St. Kitts, veal and mutton from Saba and potatoes from the English islands. Provisions also came from St. Maarten and Statian bread was made "from good rich American grain" (Hullu 1919:144-150).

But 1795 marks the beginning of economic decline for St. Eustatius. In Europe the Netherlands fell under the rule of France, and Statia, administered from Guadeloupe was heavily taxed. The British took control of Statia in 1801 from the French and returned the island to the Dutch in 1802.⁹

For eight years the Dutch again held St. Eustatius and then once again the island was governed by the British from 1810 to 1816. Any economic recovery attempted by the Dutch in this hiatus would have presumably been squelched under the British, for during this period Statia witnessed a decline in trade (Knox 1852:103).

When St. Eustatius was returned to the Dutch in 1816 the island was again opened to trade "with those islands whose government is on good terms with Holland." That the Dutch intended to encourage trade with the North Americans and West Indian islands is reflected in the fact that no taxes were to be leveyed against incoming cargoes from these sources. St. Thomas and St. Barts were probably the major rivals of Statia at this time as notice was given to lower tariffs, if these islands did so, to under cut them (Reglement op het Beleid van . . . 1815-1818).

The population had dropped drastically through the French and two British occupations and in 1818 the total was 2,668: 501 white, 301 freedmen and 1,865 slaves (Hartog 1976:102). Many of the merchants quitting the island throughout this period moved to St. Thomas (Hartog 1976:59). In 1828 Statia was declared a free port and, with official backing, began construction on a mole (Figure 4) which wave action destroyed (Hartog 1976:106, 125; Goslinga 1979:150). A hurricane in 1819 began the destruction of the warehouses in the Lower Town, and the Statians themselves continued the dissolution by salvaging the bricks to sell off island. Export figures show 80,000 bricks in 1855 and 5,000 in 1879 (Hartog 1976:126).

The inability to recover the earlier trade networks in the 19th century marks the collapse of St. Eustatius as an important international port. Economic and demographic

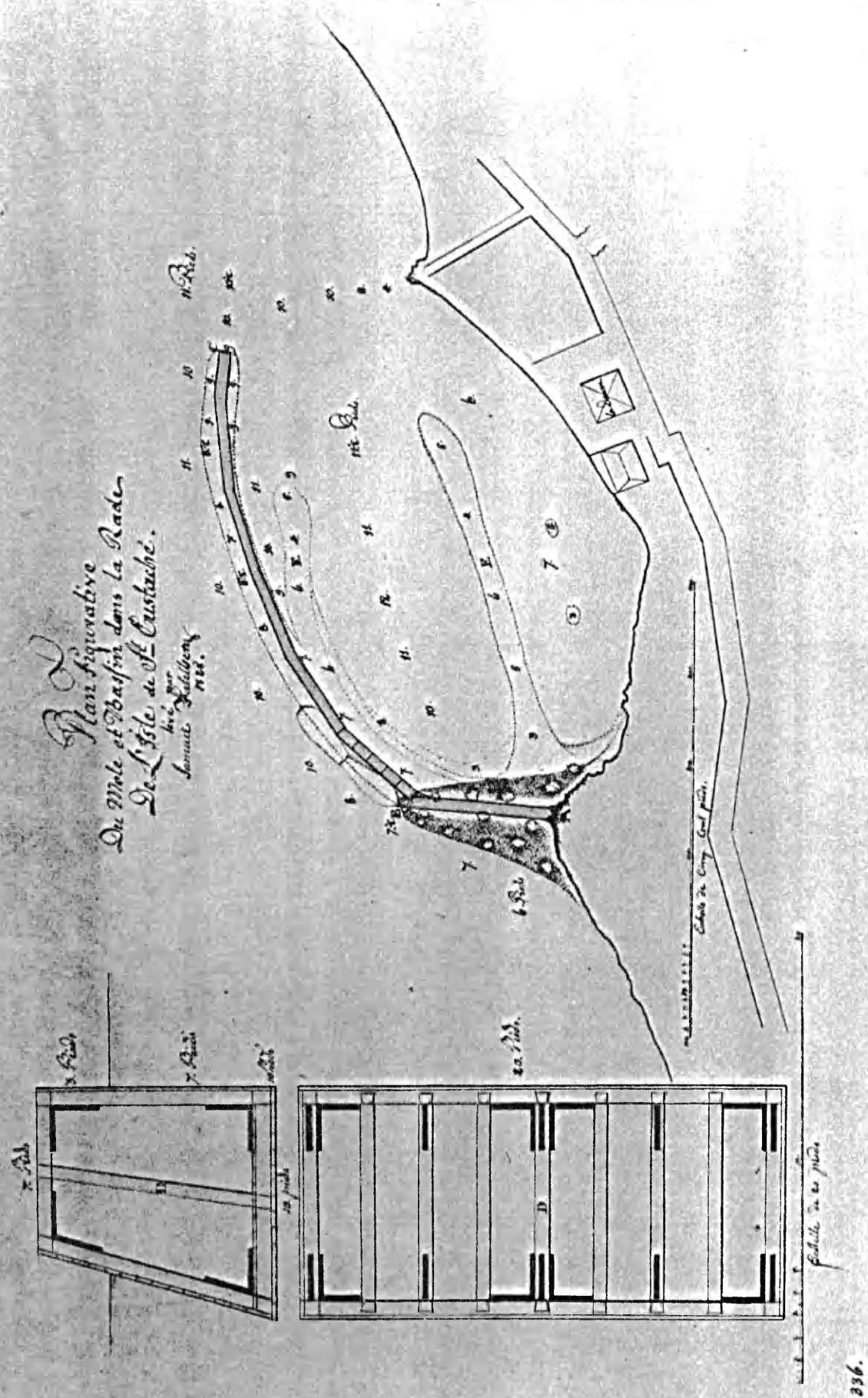


Figure 4. Contemporary Plan of the 1828 Mole (Appendix B, #13)

decline continued and the island settled into an insular life, her society made up of the descendants of the white farmers and their slaves.¹⁰

CHAPTER 2

Subgroups of St. Eustatius

The subgroups of the 17th and 18th centuries on the island of St. Eustatius can be identified from the historical records through two processes. Particularly in the 17th century, the population was formed by the arrival of individuals and groups. The origins of each can give some indication of occupation, ethnic background, religion and purpose for their stay on Statia. The second process is through the ranking and structuring of individuals according to social attributes, a status and functional reading of the society found in the meager social documentation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the initial Dutch settlement on Statia represented a grantee-concession under the Zeeland branch of the West India Company. Whether raw recruits or survivors of earlier forays (colonist or ex-sailors) these individuals began this journey from Zeeland and were mostly Zeelanders, Walloons and Flemish (Attema 1976:16). The party would have been composed of a grantee-concession appointed commander, Dutch West India Company soldiers and those individuals agreeing to work

under the grantee-concession legal structure. It is not known if women and children were included in this colonizing group.

This group of 40 to 50 settlers appears to have confined their initial activities to construction of the fort and establishment of agricultural interests. Tobacco, cotton, coffee and possibly indigo were the primary cash crops, and these farmers were under contract to sell their crops back to the grantee-concession and consequently to the profit of the West India Company. The introduction of slaves, Indians kidnapped from other islands or blacks via Northern Brazil or the Wild Coast, formed the beginnings of a major social division on the island. The settlement was open to new arrivals such as refugees from other islands and more immigrants from the Netherlands.

The character of St. Eustatius society in the first decades after settlement must have been formed by its role as an agricultural resource to the W.I.C.; farmers and slaves were the "stable" portion of her population. Although the West India Company had declared a monopoly on trade in her charter, private merchants and privateers seem to have entered the Caribbean at will. Undoubtedly there was some stopover at Statia but, considering the attributes of the island, there was little incentive for trade usage. St. Eustatius surely had little surplus water to provision ships with and no salt; and as the Dutch were able to trade and

establish warehouses directly on the French and English islands during this period their dependence on Statia would have been minimal.

A communication with Statia could provide some insight into the formal relationship with the grantee-concession holders in Zeeland. The message was sent that ". . .the tobacco must be placed in the warehouse. . ." from the Zeeland Chamber in 1639 (Attema 1976:18). The situation here which gave rise to such a directive could have parallels with a similar occurrence in the Dutch South Africa settlement. Cape Town did not operate under a patronship as did Statia; the settlement there was a West India Company military establishment manned by soldiers contracted for a specific number of year with restrictions on their personal activities. Cape Town was to serve as a way-station for West India Company ships traveling to the east and the commander was to keep secure the port and to grow food stuffs and raise livestock to resupply these ships. Agitation among the soldiers assigned these duties and the resulting low production encouraged the commander to lease out company land to individual soldiers for stocks and crops. It was soon discovered that these individuals preferred to trade illegally with the ships themselves as the prices they obtained were much better than the company's set rates (Spilhaus 1966:12, 15, 23). Perhaps the Statian farmers were also illegally selling their produce to ships

and the company was attempting to thwart this by forcing all produce to be stored in the guarded warehouse.

The collapse of Dutch Brazil in the 1650s undoubtedly resulted in a new immigration movement of refugees to the Dutch islands in the Caribbean; the majority having been involved in the Brazilian sugar plantations and bringing their knowledge of such with them. St. Eustatius continued tobacco cultivation through the beginning of the 18th century but sugar cultivation, spreading rapidly throughout the Caribbean, began here too. Absorption of some of these refugees would have expanded the agricultural population helping to push cultivation into more peripheral areas of the island such as the northern hills and the higher ground surrounding the Quill.

Statia's non-slave population up to this time was mainly Dutch, amiable to the Reformed Church and, with the possible exception of the island commander and the company agent in charge of customs, overwhelmingly agricultural. The beginning of the change in economic focus to trade originated with the English bans on trade with non-English which forced the Dutch to find new bases for this activity. Dutch factors and warehouse keepers on the English islands had to move their operations to French holdings and increasingly, as enforcement escalated, St. Eustatius became a more ideal location. The establishment of individual traders on Statia most likely marked the beginning of a

division between rural and urban; the agriculturalists scattered about the island living on their land and those involved in trade building warehouses in the Lower Town with their residences in the area adjacent to the fort and overlooking the anchorage, the Upper Town (see Figure 2).

With the English capture of St. Eustatius in 1665 some insight is offered into the composition of the island's population. Slightly over 1,170 people resided there, 840 of which were slaves ("negroes and Indians") a ratio of over two slaves to each colonist (Figure 5). In addition Col. Cary's report states that

76 men, 42 women, 132 children, all Dutch were sent to St. Martin's, 19 men besides women and children, together with 61 English, Irish, and Scotch having taken the oath of allegiance were left on the island (Sainsbury 1964(6):1042).

The ratio of Dutch to English, Irish or Scotch was approximately 45 to 1. These non-Dutch inhabitants may well have been indentured servants who, after gaining their freedom, migrated from the more densely populated English islands. The "19 [Dutch] men besides women and children" who chose to remain on Statia could have been landholders trying to mitigate the loss of capital involved in agriculture. This same report lists among the booty of

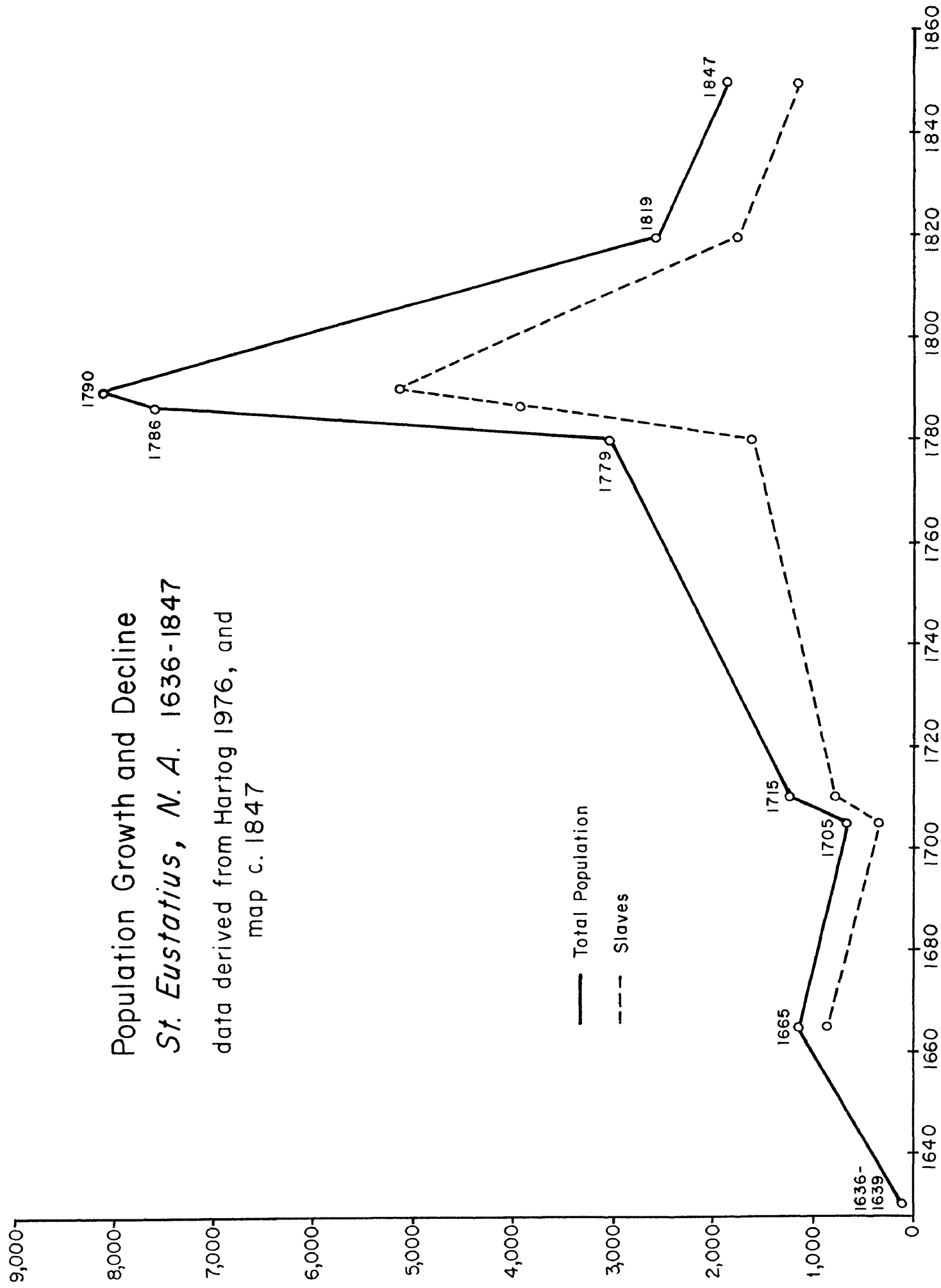


Figure 5.

livestock a few sloops, 50,000 lbs. of cotton and some arms, "6 good plantations with sugar works and several of cotton."

The point should be made here that each time the English captured Statia throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Dutch trade on the island was completely disrupted. As the case in 1665, all individuals refusing to pledge their allegiance to the English monarchy were shipped off island. All material goods associated with trade activities were seized as booty, as were the portable items associated with the farms and military. Some Statian farmers may have remained on the island in hope of a quick recapture by Dutch forces but those individuals involved in trade would have been better off attempting to continue business from another, even if temporary, port.

In 1665-1666, the forces which seized St. Eustatius consisted of pirates enlisted for the English military actions and this group under no real discipline used the island as a base for other attacks. The disruptive effect on the remnants of Statian society of at least 200 Jamician buccaneers could hardly be overestimated (Sainsbury 1964(6):108, 1125, 1212).

Because of official English and French complaints, it is apparent that upon Dutch reoccupation of the island, the traders and merchants quickly resumed their former activities. The difficulties surrounding re-establishing

the agricultural estates, including regaining title to the land, repairing damaged or lost equipment and structures, and rebuilding their slave populations, would have encouraged many individuals to recoup their losses through diversification into trade. Another capture of St. Eustatius in 1672 could have hastened this process of weakening the profitability of sugar, cotton and tobacco farming on the island. Also throughout this period the Dutch West India Company was increasingly losing solvency and in a debilitated condition, the economic climate on Statia would have allowed for escalating use by those individuals encroaching on the Company's monopoly.

St. Eustatius sustained a longer period of disruption with the French capture of the island in 1689, held by the English and not returned to Dutch control again until 1697. A blanket of poverty appears to have settled over the island; although the white population count appears roughly the same as in 1665, the number of slaves was approximately one third of that earlier period (see Figure 5).¹¹

In 1701, Labat, the traveling French Jesuit priest, had so little to attract his attention during his stop at the island that he gives no description and only notes their encounter with an interloper off the coast and the fact that the captain who did go ashore delayed them by many hours drinking with company officials at the fort (Eaden 1970:210). Pirate attacks on St. Eustatius in 1709 and 1713

appear to have drained the people further of their resources but by 1715 an unexplained increase in population took place (see Figure 5), most likely those seeking cheap land. Soon thereafter a request was made to re-colonize St. Croix, pleading the inability of the island to support the current 1,274 population (including 750 slaves) (Hartog 1976:34).

As the number of Statia's inhabitants increased, so did social diversity. Jewish merchants from Curacao occasionally had business on St. Eustatius during the 17th century; during the early 18th century pirate raids, records note that some Jews established on Statia were affected enough to relocate back to Curacao. Despite these setbacks a census of 1722 included 21 Jews, male, female and children, noting that they owned 16 slaves (Hartog 1976:56; Emmanuel 1970:518). A Jewish cemetery established in 1730, located on the present-day edge of town is adjacent to a Protestant cemetery which also encloses the site of a 17th century Dutch Reformed church.

During this period there appears to have been some official or social limitations restricting free activity of the Jewish population. A formal protest was made in 1730 from Amsterdam Jews, through the official channels of the West India Company, entreating equal rights with the island Christians, including the freedoms of religion and commerce. The Jewish community was subsequently granted voting privileges on council members and relieved of Saturday Civil

Guard duty. In 1737 the community named Honen Dalim was founded; permission to build their synagogue (see Figure 3), with the provision that its location would not interfere with Christian services, was not given until 1739 (Hartog 1976:58, 62). The Statian congregation was comprised of Sephardis and Ashkenazis whose differences escalated at time to the point necessitating governmental intervention (Hartog 1975:40, 41, 58; Emmanuel 1970:520).

The 18th century Jews of St. Eustatius appear to have lead lives secluded in many ways from the rest of the island. Few seem to have sought government office (Emmanuel 1970:522). Although the majority appear to have been merchants and traders, a petition in 1779 originating with the island's trade community contained the names of only three Jews.¹² It is not known if the Jewish families all resided within an established neighborhood.

In 1742 an evacuation of the Jewish community to Curacao occurred because of the threat of French warships in the area. The contents of the synagogue were also taken but were returned two years later as the people came back.¹³ Close ties between the Jewish communities on Curacao and St. Eustatius were maintained, as well as ties between St. Eustatius and the Jewish community in New York. Damage by a hurricane in 1772 to Jewish homes and to the synagogue (Figure 6) brought contributions to help rebuild from both. The Jewish merchants of Statia profited from the growing

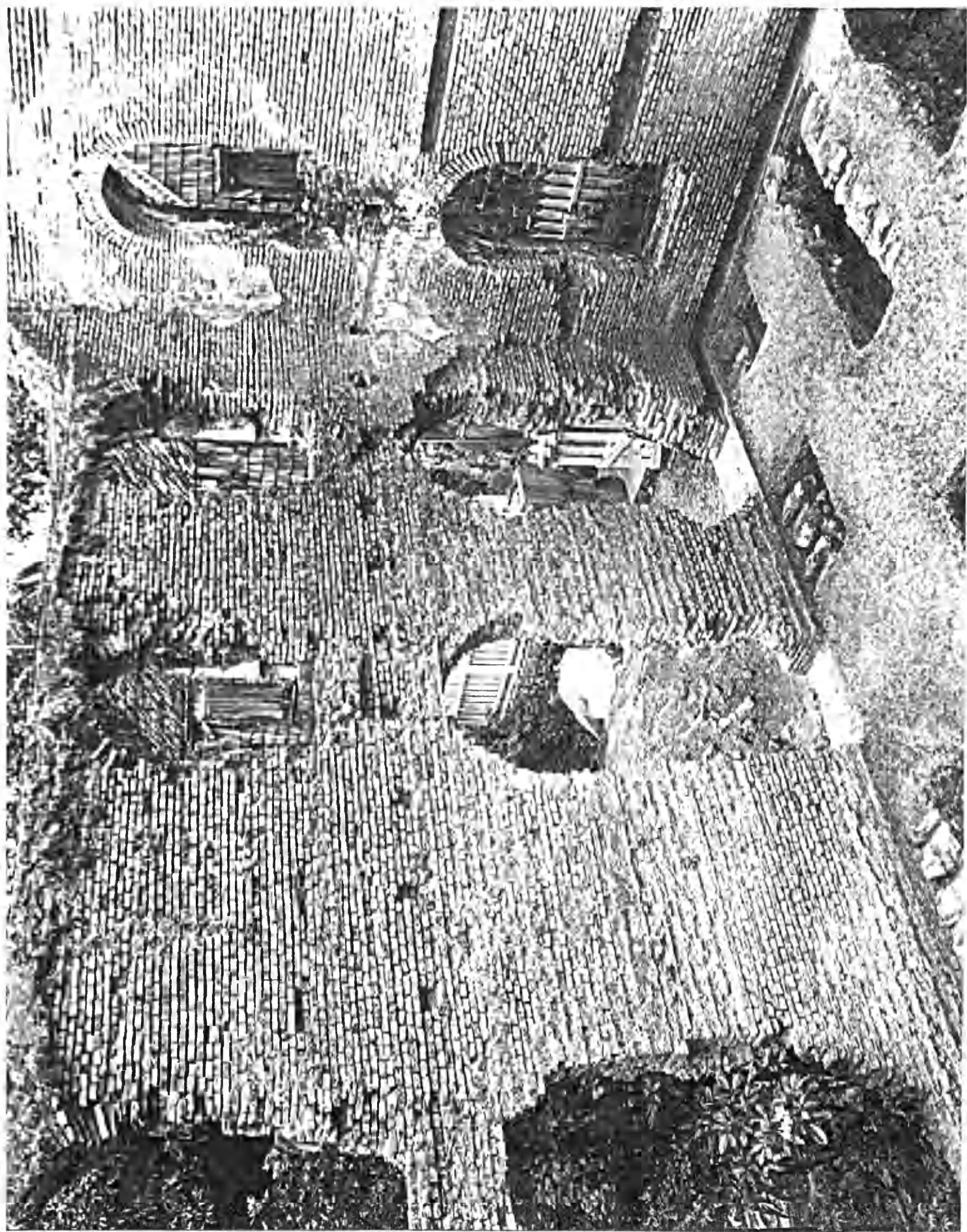
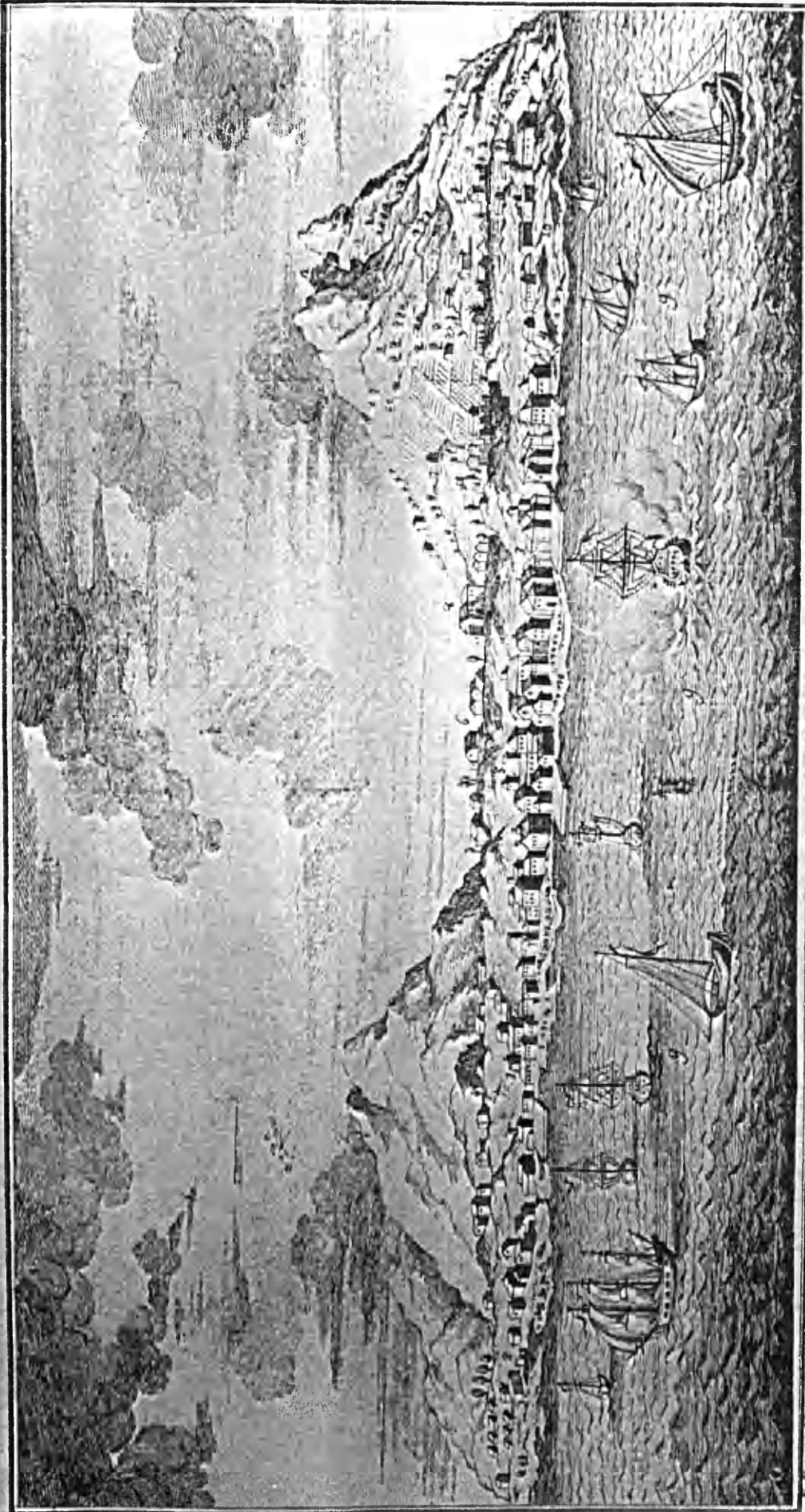


Figure 6. Interior of the Ruins of the Second Jewish Synagogue on St. Eustatius

volume of trade in the 18th century. Some became very wealthy and the population continued to expand along with that of the island (Emmanuel 1970:521). The British capture of the island in 1781 was particularly harsh for the Jews. Rodney ordered 101 Jewish men to the customs house to be deported, without their wives and children, to Antigua and St. Kitts. Altogether L8,000 (Sterling) in cash was taken from 150 Jews. With the return of the island to the Dutch, the Jewish community regained some of its former size: in 1790 it numbered 170. However, beginning with the island's falling fortunes in 1795, most Jewish merchants left for St. Thomas. By 1818 there were only five Jews of the original community on Statia (Emmanuel 1970:523-526; Hartog 1976:58, 59).

Other religions gained organizational status in the second half of the 18th century, indicating that many merchants settling on Statia brought to, or established families on the island. In 1752 an Anglican church (Figure 7) was formed in the Upper Town and a private Roman Catholic chapel (see Figure 7) was located in the Lower Town, reportedly for 500 individuals-some residents and many foreigners (Hartog 1976:70, 116). The Lutheran congregation held services in a large rented house around 1780 and later built a church structure (Figure 8) (Hartog 1976:93, 126). All of these except for the Roman Catholic chapel were in the Upper Town, but it appears that there was a special antagonism in the Dutch Reformed congregation for the Jewish



1 *Al Forte*

2 *Snaccatura con un Lago d'Acqua*

3 *Borgo*

4 *Piazza con Orogano*

5 *La Chiesa Romana Privata*

VEDUTA

DI S. EUSTACHIO

6 *Abitazione del Governatore*

7 *Chiesa Olandese*

8 *Chiesa Inglese*

9 *La Piazza*

10 *Uscito per lo Curio delle Mercanzie*

Figure 7. Italian 18th Century Print, East Coast of St. Eustatius (Appendix B, #19)

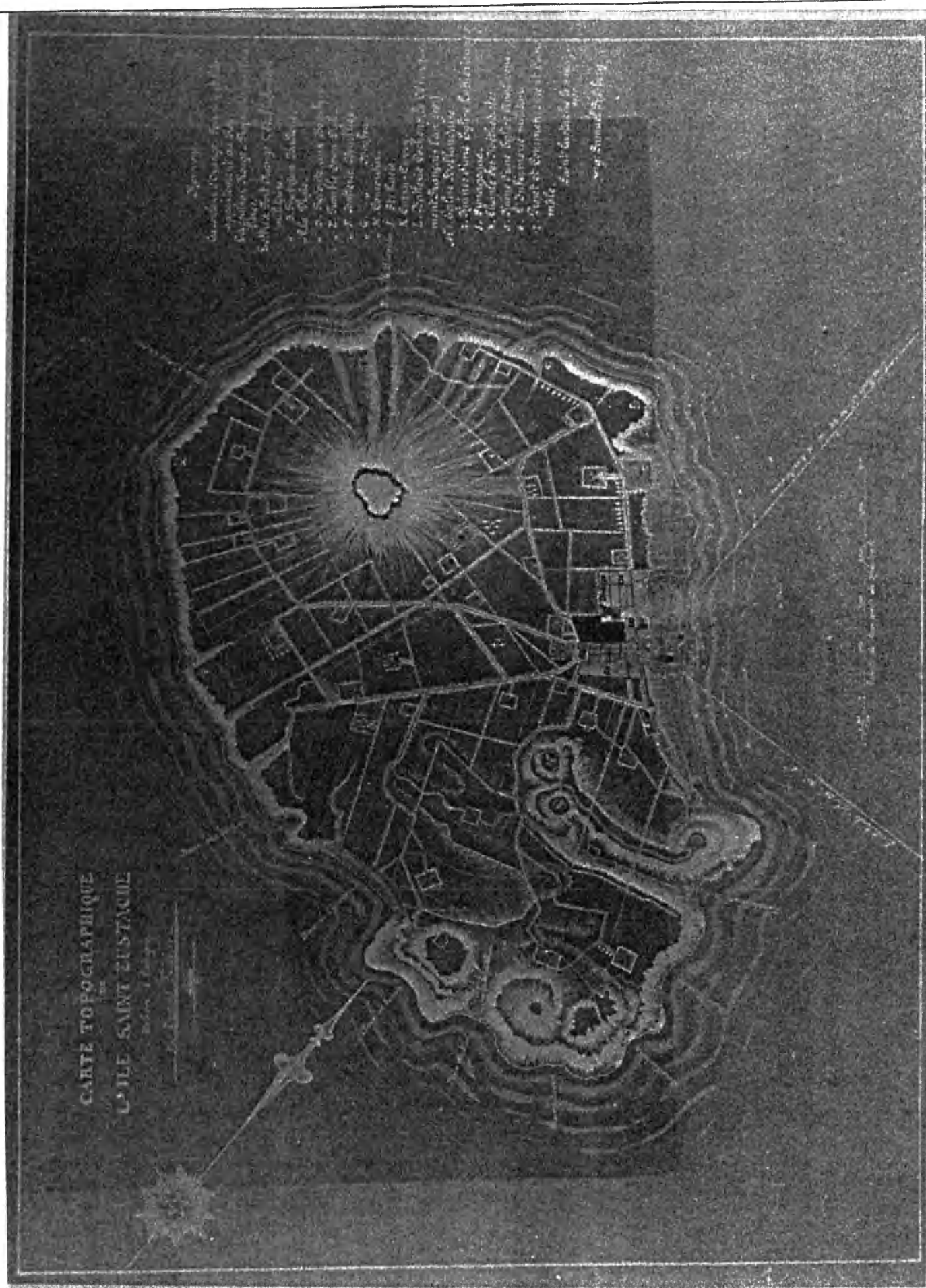


Figure 8. Plan of St. Eustatius, 1830 (Appendix B, #15)

synagogue. The Dutch Reformed was the officially sanctioned religion, particularly during the 17th century but it was not until the second half of the 18th century that a major structure was built to house services. Other than the use of buildings in the fort, the first church, the Old Reformed Church was outside of town in the graveyard next to the later Jewish cemetery. This church appears to have been destroyed by the French in 1689 (Hartog 1976:142). The Dutch Reformed church built in 1755 was ruined along with the synagogue in the hurricane of 1772. While the Jewish congregation rebuilt their structure, the Dutch Reformed chose to construct one which would not "be second to the Jewish" (Hartog 1976:62). Not only very large (89 x 33 feet with a large "porch" and tower, 63 feet high) compared to the synagogue (42 x 24 feet), it was built near the cliff edge overlooking the Lower Town and anchorage and was highly visible (see Figure 3).

Methodism also was making its presence felt in the Caribbean and most significantly among the slaves. A Statian slave named Black Harry is credited with introducing this religion to the island some time in the 18th century. Because of perceived difficulties between the institution of slavery and equal status as Christians, most whites were against allowing the conversion and baptism of slaves to Methodism, and those caught attending those meetings were to be punished with 39 lashes by order of the island Council (Hartog 1976:115),

Responsibility for the great range of religious, ethnic and national origins of Statia's population in the 18th century appears to lie mainly with the opportunities for free international trade. Foreign merchants could gain Burgher status which also brought lowered taxes and tariffs by residency on the island for 18 months (France 1984:164).

The Scottish visitor, Janet Schaw, recorded her amazement over the diversity found in her 1775 visit to the Lower Town.

[H]ere was a mercht vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc., etc. They all wear the habit of their country and the diversity is really amusing (Shaw 1971:136).

Ms. Schaw's party was greeted by a group of Jewish merchants on their arrival.

In spite of Schaw's impressions of the activities in the Lower Town, Zimmerman the Elder whose residence on the island gave him greater familiarity said that

The local language of the natives [Statians], mulatos and negroes, is English; you hardly hear anything else. If one speaks Dutch to a

lady she either doesn't answer or if she feels like it she will respond in English (Hullu 1919:144-150).

Historical documents support Zimmerman's observation. "The St. Eustatius Gazette," which was in print from 1789 through 1794, is almost entirely in English with occasional news articles in French while some advertisements were printed also in Dutch. The historian Hartog believes that bilingual indices found in early 18th century island documents support his contention that English had made such inroads into the Statian vocabulary that individuals in charge of official records were not aware of substitutions when they were made (Hartog 1976). This trend continued until the situation occurred in 1836 where a visiting Dutch bishop and the island Lieutenant Governor could not communicate because neither spoke the other's language (Hartog 1976:29).

It is from Zimmerman's letter (Appendix C) that insight into social groupings of the late 18th century island is gained. Zimmerman was a businessman out from the Netherlands who, planning a stay of five to six years, spent his first four weeks familiarizing himself with the island and its peoples.

The census of two years prior to his letter counts the total population as 7,830, 2,375 whites, 511 free colored

and 4,944 slaves. Approximately 1,000 individuals were involved directly with trade (Attema 1976:46).

Zimmerman spent much of his time socializing with the upper classes on Statia. He states

I visited a good number of them (sugar plantations); most of the friends to whom I had been recommended are plantation owners. . .

The census states that there were 20 individually owned plantations, but Zimmerman also socialized with those living in the Upper Town. He described the interior of the homes of these "respectable folks" as being well furnished with many of the more expensive items of trade such as heavy mahogany furniture from England and North America, English wallpaper and large quantities of crystal and glassware including chandeliers. Although mattresses were available, the bedding of choice was the hammock, hung up at night. In the social circles in which he moved "dropping in" for drinks and food appeared to be well accepted. Zimmerman pronounces it a "good and liberal" society.

His own daily schedule reflects the intense heat of the afternoon; rising at 4 A.M., Zimmerman spent the following three hours visiting planters on horseback with friends and returned to the "mountain" - the Upper Town - for breakfast at 7. Business occupied the hours between 8 o'clock and 1

and took place in the bustling Lower Town. At that time friends supplied a horse for the climb back to the Upper Town for lunch where he was able to choose among three or four invitations. Afternoons were probably spent indoors most likely including a siesta and evenings were spent socializing or retiring around 8 or 9 o'clock.

Of the women of this class we learn little beyond their apparent disdain of the Dutch language or their reluctance to speak it. They were well dressed for the parties and according to Zimmerman "are not beautiful, but are good hearted" although they never traveled on foot but on horseback or were "carried in a chair by two negroes".

Several times in his letter, Zimmerman makes the distinction between Europeans and Creoles which represented not a social division but the concept of being acclimatized through birth or some unspecified period of residence. Finding himself plagued by mosquitoes and gnats, he claimed that "you can sleep in a room full of creoles and they leave the Creoles alone and fall upon the helpless European in swarms." One is left to wonder if this description reflects Zimmerman's own sleeping arrangements in an inn or tavern. He tells us little of his own housing accommodations, only that he stayed in the Upper Town; omission would seem to rule out a social arrangement.

Janet Schaw spent her stay on Statia in an inn or tavern in the Lower Town and the fact that she never went anywhere else on the island perhaps explains her judgment that "[w]e were treated with great hospitality at this place, but they have nothing of the gentility of the neighboring Islands" (Schaw 1971:138). For those travelers like Schaw and other transients of various classes and means, a system of lodging must have been available in the Lower Town.

Another subgroup of Statian society remarked upon by Zimmerman is that of the mulattos. The previously mentioned population census states that there were "511 free colored" on the island; while these two terms may not be equal, it is obvious from Zimmerman's description that they are not mutually exclusive. Although Zimmerman gives no information on the mulatto men from his description, the women of this color-typed class were obviously free to come and go as they pleased. The mulatto women were characterized as mistresses of "Europeans"; they were notable for their fine clothes, gold jewelry and parasol-carrying slaves. Mulatto women also appear to have socialized within at least one of the slave "villages."

Although much colored by his prejudices Zimmerman also gives some description of slaves and their society. According to this letter, these negroes were beaten "all day long"; and although he was first disturbed by this behavior, Zimmerman claims that the slaves would "think you're crazy"

and would not work if compassion was shown.¹⁴ Zimmerman explained to his correspondent that they "live together like animals" and that most "go about stark naked, men and women". The plantation slaves lived in "villages," 30 to 40 "little huts" per plantation (Figure 9).

Zimmerman was given the opportunity to visit one of these exotic "negro companies" by the island captain-commandant and was amused by their, odd to him, music and dancing. The few mulatto women performed contra-dances and the music was produced by two vocalists, tambourines, a violin and a piece of iron beaten with a tenpin. Although Zimmerman does not explain the type of music, the assumption can be made that it was at least based on a European style for he judged one musician "who performed the music passably." The high spirits of this group, their freedom to drink punch and grog and their amiability at being visited, is a welcome relief from the specter of slaves being beaten all day.

Zimmerman also made reference to buying pineapples from slaves, indicating that land and free time was allotted to the slaves to grow their own food and, if possible, a surplus. The traditional market place on the island was in the Upper Town on the site of the present day Wilhelmina Park (see Figure 3), and it is likely that slaves brought their produce there to sell.¹⁵ Whether there is any truth involved, Zimmerman also asserts that the slaves were known

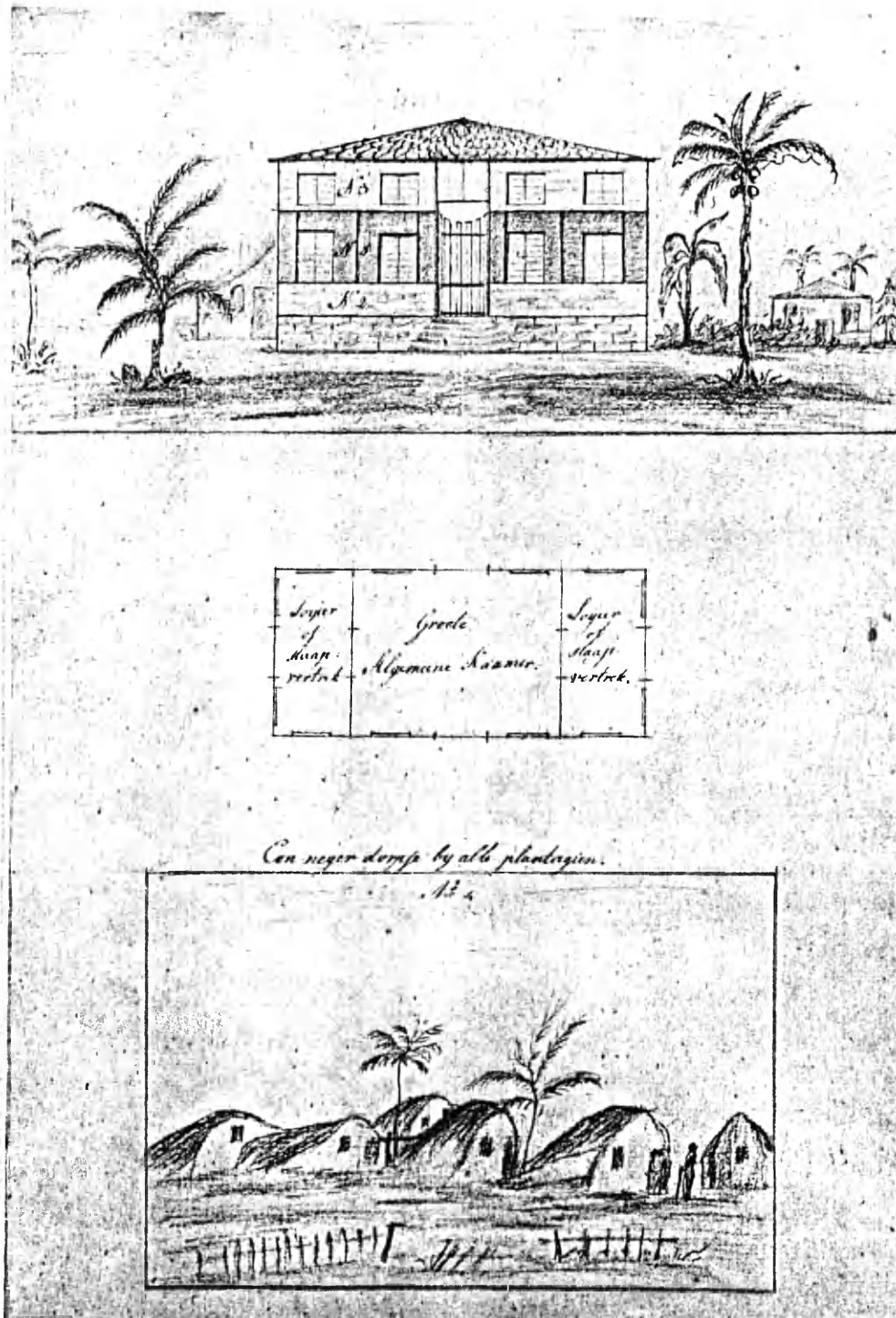


Figure 9. Zimmerman Drawing of a Station House, House Plan and Slave Village (Attema 1976: PL.12) (Appendix C)

to steal fat dogs from whites and to "regal themselves" with them.

The 1790 census counted 4,944 slaves for the island, over twice as many as the white population (see Figure 5). In addition to the individual counts already given, whites, free colored and slaves, as well as plantation owners and traders, there were 300 people involved in the fishing industry, 100 civil servants and soldiers, several doctors and around 100 individuals listed as carpenters (Attema 1976:46).

Excluding the slaves, it can be seen that the majority of the free population was involved in occupations centered on the anchorage. The minority of whites were urban, while we can safely assume that the majority of slaves were rural and agricultural. Merchants, shopkeepers, tavern, inn or hotel keepers, ship chandlers, carpenters for housing, ship repair or building crates and barrels, fisherman, government officials and soldiers as well as the wives and children all made up the white urban society.

These people appear for the most part to have lived in the Upper Town and traveled down the paths to the Lower Town to work. Housing and space were at a premium during the 18th century in the Upper Town with several plans to remedy this. The West India Company's meadow (Compagnieessavane) was increasingly requested to be divided into lots so that

wooden houses could be built there to help solve the problem of scant and expensive housing from 1715 until permission was granted in 1739 (see Figure 8). Setbacks occurred in this enterprise, lack of wood shipments and the cost of slave workers delayed the construction and once completed appears to have filled with individuals who were too poor to pay their rent (Attema 1976:33-35). Because privately owned land was cultivated up to the very edges of the town, there was no room for expansion and housing was quite cramped in some areas (Attema 1976:35).

CHAPTER 3

The Lower Town and Culture Change

Present day St. Eustatius society demonstrates the effects of acculturation between this Dutch island and its closest neighbors the British West Indies. Historical documentation indicates that this process and its effects are not all recent but have been more or less continual from sometime in the 17th century on.

It can be argued that some of the properties of culture change on St. Eustatius are the results of invention, diffusion or devolution; but it is the proposed model here that the inherent forces in maintaining trade were instrumental in pressuring society on this island to adopt characteristics found on the English islands. In many ways Statia was able to "hold its own" against these pressures, and it is proposed here that it is particularly through the formation and maintenance of a physical as well as social boundary mechanism - the Lower Town - that the island was able to do so (see Figure 2). Forced to develop trade on the island itself sometime in the mid-17th century, and to discontinue operations directly on the British islands,

local mechanisms were formed on Statia to deal with this particular type of contact. Boundaries act not only as barriers but as selective gateways, consciously and unconsciously, between one culture and another. Through an examination of the known attributes of the Lower Town, these two functions can be explained.

Although this boundary system has definite physical characteristics, the most blatant of which is related to geographical feature, the intended point here is not that all attributes are reflective of conscious choices or decisions. In the case of St. Eustatius' anchorage (see Figure 2), definite physical factors influenced the development of trade to this area. The southwestern coast of this island is the side which is protected from the strong Atlantic winds and, consequently, is the safest and easiest approach. Coral concreations at different points along this coast also limit landing access. While Statia has never had a harbor area or structure where ships could be directly off-loaded until the present pier, small boats riding the low surf into the beach seem to have provided sufficient access.

The main anchorage area appears to have been 500 to 800 meters from the shore and ranging from Billy's Gut south through Gallows Bay (see Figure 3) (Nagelkerken 1984:1). A view of the anchorage and town area drawn in the 1780s (Figure 10) distinguishes two landing spots: "de Waagen

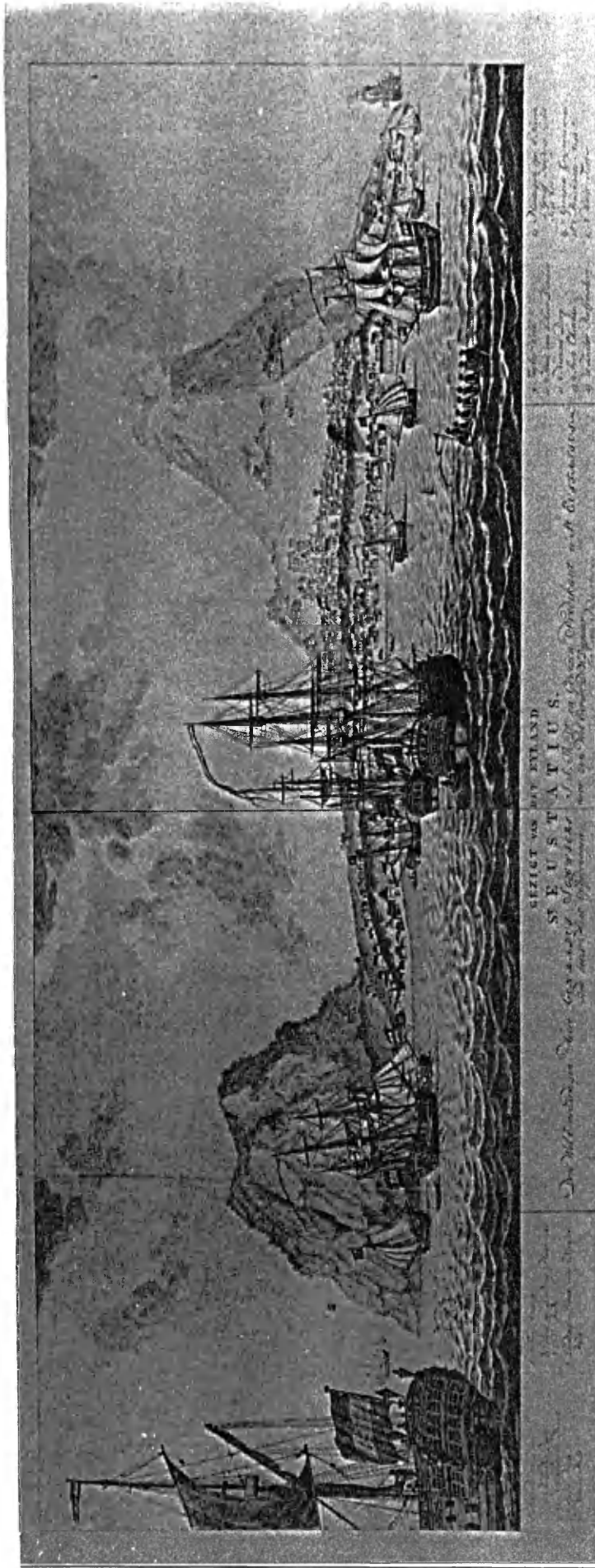


Figure 10. East Coast of St. Eustatius, 1780 (Appendix B, #7)

Landing-Plaat voor and Oude Padt" and "Landing-Plaat voor and Nieuwe Padt." The former is the oldest and considering its placement, at the foot of the Bay Path, underneath and completely visible from the major fort, Fort Oranje, is certainly the original. Farther to the south adjacent to Prospect is the newer. Other spots on the island were known to be accessible, such as Billy's Gut where a "new village" was proposed in the 1730s because "...landing here is so easy..." (Attema 1975:35). It is quite likely that smugglers used Billy's Gut as well as Tumbledown Dick Bay to land their cargos as the point of land in between is known as Interlopper's Point (see Figure 3). Jenkins's Bay was the point of entrance for the French forces in 1781 when they took the island from the British. Hartog has suggested that Jenkins Bay also played host to smugglers, particularly the illegal slave trade (Hartog, personal communication, April 4, 1984). He also believes that the name Negro Path (directly adjacent to this bay) refers to an escape route for slaves attempting to leave the island (Hartog 1976:52).¹⁶

But landings at Jenkins and Tumbledown Dick Bays give access to rough mountainous regions while landings at Oranjestad Bay, once the cliffs are conquered, give direct access to the central, flat agricultural plane of the island (see Figure 2). The geographical feature of the cliffs skirting the Lower Town beach was an attractive feature to the 17th century colonists, providing a clear view of the

Oranjestad and Gallows Bay area. De Rochefort described it as a "natural fortification [the cliffs overlook the beach], there is in it a strong fort which commands the best Haven, the Guns of it carrying a good distance into the Sea" (Davies 1666:24, 25). Fortification, and not access, appears to have been more important at least up the 1660s as "there was only one landing-place on the island, with a narrow path accommodating but two men at a time leading to an eminence", obviously the Bay Path well guarded by Fort Oranje (Haring 1966:128, 129).

Thus, the accidents of anchorage and access made the area the most likely one for subsequent development. The area of the future Lower Town could only be described as barrier-like, in that the geographical features gave a theoretical defensive, military advantage. In actuality, as previously noted, St. Eustatius was easily captured by invading forces, particularly because of the small effort and financial expenditure of the West Indies Company on outfitting the defense.

The other relevant geographical feature affecting the utilization of the Lower Town area has been the relatively wide stretch of usable land from the beach up to the cliff base. While extensive early use of this beach for storage, warehousing and as site for a weighing house or station is so far left to conjecture, three factors must be considered. The beach was open to attack from pirates and privateers;

although defensible it allowed first landing and the possibility of anything stored there being captured even though the rest of the island might escape. Secondly, this area was open to ocean damage during storms. Thirdly, while the safest spot for storage may have been at the top of the cliffs with the fort, convenience for temporary storage would have weighted heavily for utilization of the Lower Town as a warehouse district, as in the 18th century it did.

Beside these physical characteristics concerning access to the island, a second major consideration must be made and that is the attributes of the society itself. As stated previously, the settlers of the first three decades of Statia's European habitation appear to have been exclusively oriented to a rural, agricultural existence. The major pressure on maintenance of the traditional society would have been adjustments to the ecological setting. Although it is unknown if or how much the environment on this island was altered through initial extensive clearing and farming of the land, the arid conditions do not seem to have precluded successful tobacco production. The technological adjustments inherent here do not appear to have had extensive effect on this Dutch culture. Evidence points instead to a conservative, closed community focused on farming, family and relationship with the West India Company. Official company policy, administered through the grantees and island commander insured that all participated regularly in Dutch Reformed religious services (Hartog

1976:13). The introduction of new subgroups to the island in the form of individual non-Dutch immigrants and black slaves appears to have had little effect on this Dutch culture, although admittedly the evidence is meager. The adoption of the institution of slavery and all of its attendant adjustments within this society seems to have been one of incorporation while the new non-Dutch free individuals appear to have undergone a process of incomplete assimilation resulting in a stabilized pluralism (Broom et. al. 1953:279).

The fact that St. Eustatius was an island further established an element of isolation from casual contact with other cultural traditions. Dutch ships dominated trade during this period and consequently this route of contact would have been circumstantially restricted to their own culture.

This contact situation changes drastically with the establishment of Dutch traders ousted from the English and French islands. Not directly affecting this agricultural community immediately, this new occupational subgroup changed the islands role in the Caribbean community. Unlike the rural agriculturalists, these merchants and traders would have a different geographical orientation. Convenient storehouses and warehouses would have encouraged development on the beach at Oranje Bay as well as in the area around Fort Oranje. Housing, whether inclusive in this development

or separated as distinct structures, formed the basis for a urban setting. Evidence for conflict and adjustment is lacking. Perhaps the farmers were pleased to have additional and more accessible opportunities for trade. The establishment of these traders could have been gradual enough and their interests so centered on their off-island connections that there was little conflict over influence on governmental policy/administration. Since the legal arrangement on St. Eustatius insured that the settlers were able to vote for their island council, it is probable that these agriculturalists had well established their own political strength (Hartog 1976:13).

As suggested in the previous chapter, the repeated captures of the island throughout the 17th and into the 18th century must have led to the drop in economic viability of a strictly rural-agricultural way of life. This process must have encouraged diversification into trade which led to a certain amount of melding of these initially distinct activities and social groups. Other factors affecting the decline of agriculture are so far unknown. Perhaps there was favoritism in land rental allotment or the eventual sale of government owned land was available only to those who had become wealthy through trading.

Putting aside the internal processes of change of occupational dominance on Statia, documentation from the 18th century provides data relevant to the expansion and

differentiation within this urban setting. As trade began to increase again in the 18th century so too did the influx of non-residents. The island commander in 1739 notes ". . .that both French and English are bringing European goods to the market here, and foreigners even set up shops and trade here. . ." (Attema 1976:38). For those "foreigners" who wished to establish themselves permanently, there appears to have been a policy to absorb them into the urban community, as reflected by the rapid multiplication of churches in the Upper Town. The one exception, the Roman Catholic chapel would seem to indicate a limit to this tolerance. The policy of granting official Burgher status, which required a residency of one and a half years, while giving a limited protection to Statians by imposing financial burdens (in the form of taxes on transients), also acted as a means of encouraging foreign merchants to become a part of the community. This boundary mechanism, one of the few that we know of which was formally codified, demonstrates the concern for a systematic way of distinguishing between the foreign individuals drawn to the growing trading centers.

Town planning in the Caribbean was rare and development usually followed a pattern of clustering near the fort and then expansion along the shore in a line with further growth appearing as a second parallel street behind the first (Gosner 192:49). On Statia, the earlier orientation toward rural agricultural development as well as geography has produced a variation on this. The earliest plan dates to

the 18th century with the major distribution of buildings in the Upper Town clustered around the fort and extending along a road parallel to the cliffs in either direction (Figure 11). But private and company plantations extended right down to this area cutting off development on all sides next to the agricultural plane (Attema 1976:33). The fort and the Bay Path held central prominence. The other roads radiated out to the remainder of the island. The Lower Town with its row of warehouses was of course separated from this by the ring of cliffs, but it too was centered on the Bay Path.

The strength of agricultural interests in asserting pressure on the natural expansion of the Upper Town is witnessed by the island commander's plans to start a new village in Billy's Gut, which would have been modestly segregated from both the Lower and Upper Towns (see Figure 3). This plan fell through because of contested ownership but concern over the lack of space and high cost of house rental in the Upper Town was to continue (Attema 1976:33-35).¹⁷

Since private construction was generally not mentioned in the official correspondence, the erection of a fort or battery on the northern edge of Oranje Bay between it and Billy's Gut can provide early information on the Lower Town development. The Waterfront or Fort Amsterdam (see Figure 3), built sometime during the close of the 17th century, was

PLAAN

VAN

S: EUSTATIUS

1. De Hoopduin 26000
2. De Hoopduin 27000
3. De Hoopduin 28000
4. De Hoopduin 29000
5. De Hoopduin 30000
6. De Hoopduin 31000
7. De Hoopduin 32000
8. De Hoopduin 33000
9. De Hoopduin 34000
10. De Hoopduin 35000
11. De Hoopduin 36000
12. De Hoopduin 37000
13. De Hoopduin 38000
14. De Hoopduin 39000
15. De Hoopduin 40000
16. De Hoopduin 41000
17. De Hoopduin 42000
18. De Hoopduin 43000
19. De Hoopduin 44000
20. De Hoopduin 45000
21. De Hoopduin 46000
22. De Hoopduin 47000
23. De Hoopduin 48000
24. De Hoopduin 49000
25. De Hoopduin 50000
26. De Hoopduin 51000
27. De Hoopduin 52000
28. De Hoopduin 53000
29. De Hoopduin 54000
30. De Hoopduin 55000
31. De Hoopduin 56000
32. De Hoopduin 57000
33. De Hoopduin 58000
34. De Hoopduin 59000
35. De Hoopduin 60000
36. De Hoopduin 61000
37. De Hoopduin 62000
38. De Hoopduin 63000
39. De Hoopduin 64000
40. De Hoopduin 65000
41. De Hoopduin 66000
42. De Hoopduin 67000
43. De Hoopduin 68000
44. De Hoopduin 69000
45. De Hoopduin 70000
46. De Hoopduin 71000
47. De Hoopduin 72000
48. De Hoopduin 73000
49. De Hoopduin 74000
50. De Hoopduin 75000
51. De Hoopduin 76000
52. De Hoopduin 77000
53. De Hoopduin 78000
54. De Hoopduin 79000
55. De Hoopduin 80000
56. De Hoopduin 81000
57. De Hoopduin 82000
58. De Hoopduin 83000
59. De Hoopduin 84000
60. De Hoopduin 85000
61. De Hoopduin 86000
62. De Hoopduin 87000
63. De Hoopduin 88000
64. De Hoopduin 89000
65. De Hoopduin 90000
66. De Hoopduin 91000
67. De Hoopduin 92000
68. De Hoopduin 93000
69. De Hoopduin 94000
70. De Hoopduin 95000
71. De Hoopduin 96000
72. De Hoopduin 97000
73. De Hoopduin 98000
74. De Hoopduin 99000
75. De Hoopduin 100000



De Hoopduin 26000
De Hoopduin 27000
De Hoopduin 28000
De Hoopduin 29000
De Hoopduin 30000
De Hoopduin 31000
De Hoopduin 32000
De Hoopduin 33000
De Hoopduin 34000
De Hoopduin 35000
De Hoopduin 36000
De Hoopduin 37000
De Hoopduin 38000
De Hoopduin 39000
De Hoopduin 40000
De Hoopduin 41000
De Hoopduin 42000
De Hoopduin 43000
De Hoopduin 44000
De Hoopduin 45000
De Hoopduin 46000
De Hoopduin 47000
De Hoopduin 48000
De Hoopduin 49000
De Hoopduin 50000
De Hoopduin 51000
De Hoopduin 52000
De Hoopduin 53000
De Hoopduin 54000
De Hoopduin 55000
De Hoopduin 56000
De Hoopduin 57000
De Hoopduin 58000
De Hoopduin 59000
De Hoopduin 60000
De Hoopduin 61000
De Hoopduin 62000
De Hoopduin 63000
De Hoopduin 64000
De Hoopduin 65000
De Hoopduin 66000
De Hoopduin 67000
De Hoopduin 68000
De Hoopduin 69000
De Hoopduin 70000
De Hoopduin 71000
De Hoopduin 72000
De Hoopduin 73000
De Hoopduin 74000
De Hoopduin 75000
De Hoopduin 76000
De Hoopduin 77000
De Hoopduin 78000
De Hoopduin 79000
De Hoopduin 80000
De Hoopduin 81000
De Hoopduin 82000
De Hoopduin 83000
De Hoopduin 84000
De Hoopduin 85000
De Hoopduin 86000
De Hoopduin 87000
De Hoopduin 88000
De Hoopduin 89000
De Hoopduin 90000
De Hoopduin 91000
De Hoopduin 92000
De Hoopduin 93000
De Hoopduin 94000
De Hoopduin 95000
De Hoopduin 96000
De Hoopduin 97000
De Hoopduin 98000
De Hoopduin 99000
De Hoopduin 100000

Figure 11. Plan of St. Eustatius, 1742 (Appendix B, #1)

generally reputed to be in poor repair; but in the 1720s the W.I.C. built a second story to the structure to be used for temporary housing of slaves in transit (Figure 12 and 13). The two floors were designated for the separation of the men from the women and children; and though the dimensions were 54 by 21 feet, it was judged large enough to hold 400 to 450 slaves (Attema 1976:29).

In the Lower Town itself, complaints about the condition of the Waag (weighing house) and the company warehouses began in 1743; ". . .the woodwork is rotten, the walls crumbling and so is the weighing house. . ." This Waag was only one story and located on the cliff side of the central Lower Town road near the foot of the Bay Path. Repairs were made but in 1772 a new weighing house (Figure 14) was built on the opposite side of the street adjacent to the shore edge. The old Waag was considered no longer suitable ". . . because of the small size, unfortunate situation and poor state. . ." of the building. The plot on which the older stood was to be kept clear once the new Waag had been built (Attema 1976:36).

By 1742, map evidence (see Figure 11) shows two passages between the Upper and Lower towns, the original Bay Path at the fort and the Bay Road to the north, which provided a less precipitous means of access. In 1760 it was noted that private concerns had ". . .won land from the sea with a

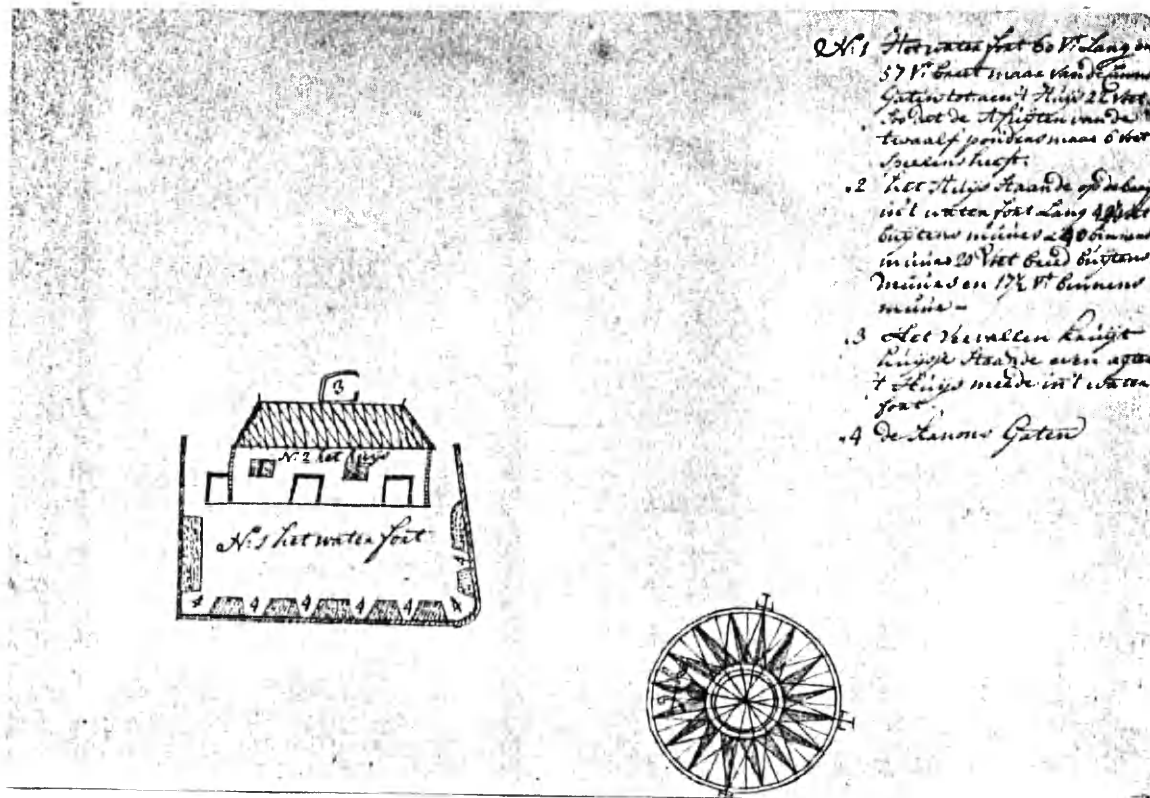


Figure 12. The House at the Waterfort, 1724 (Attema 1976: PL. 7)

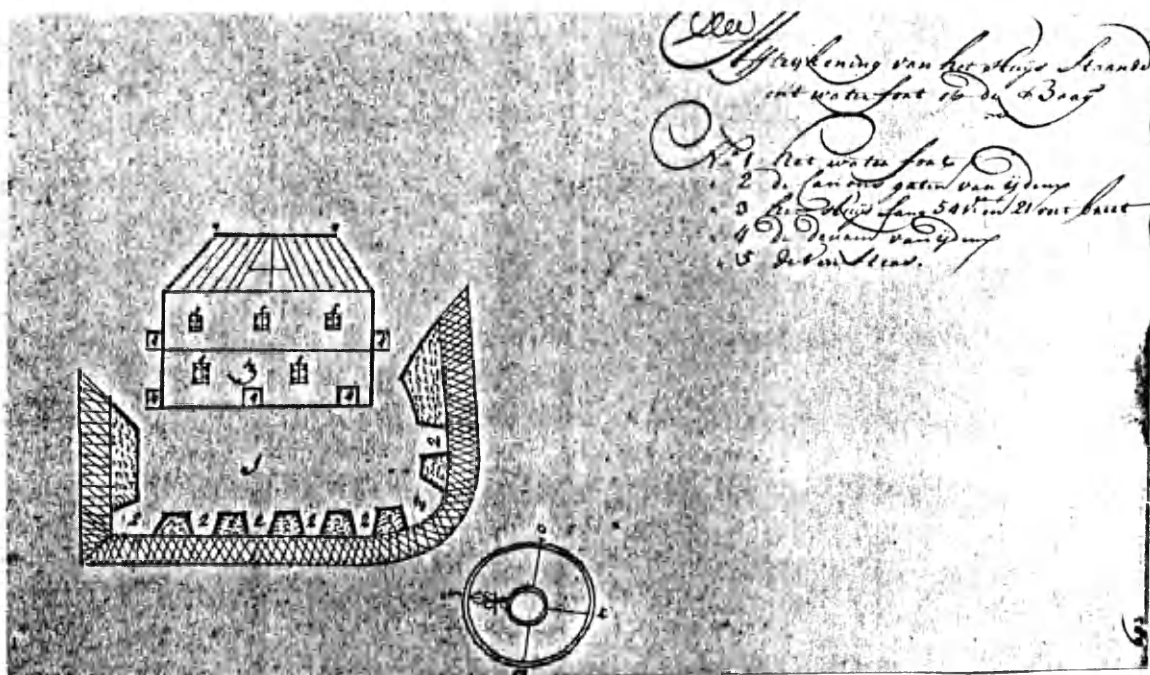


Figure 13. The Expanded Slave House at the Waterfort, 1726 (Attema 1976: PL. 8)

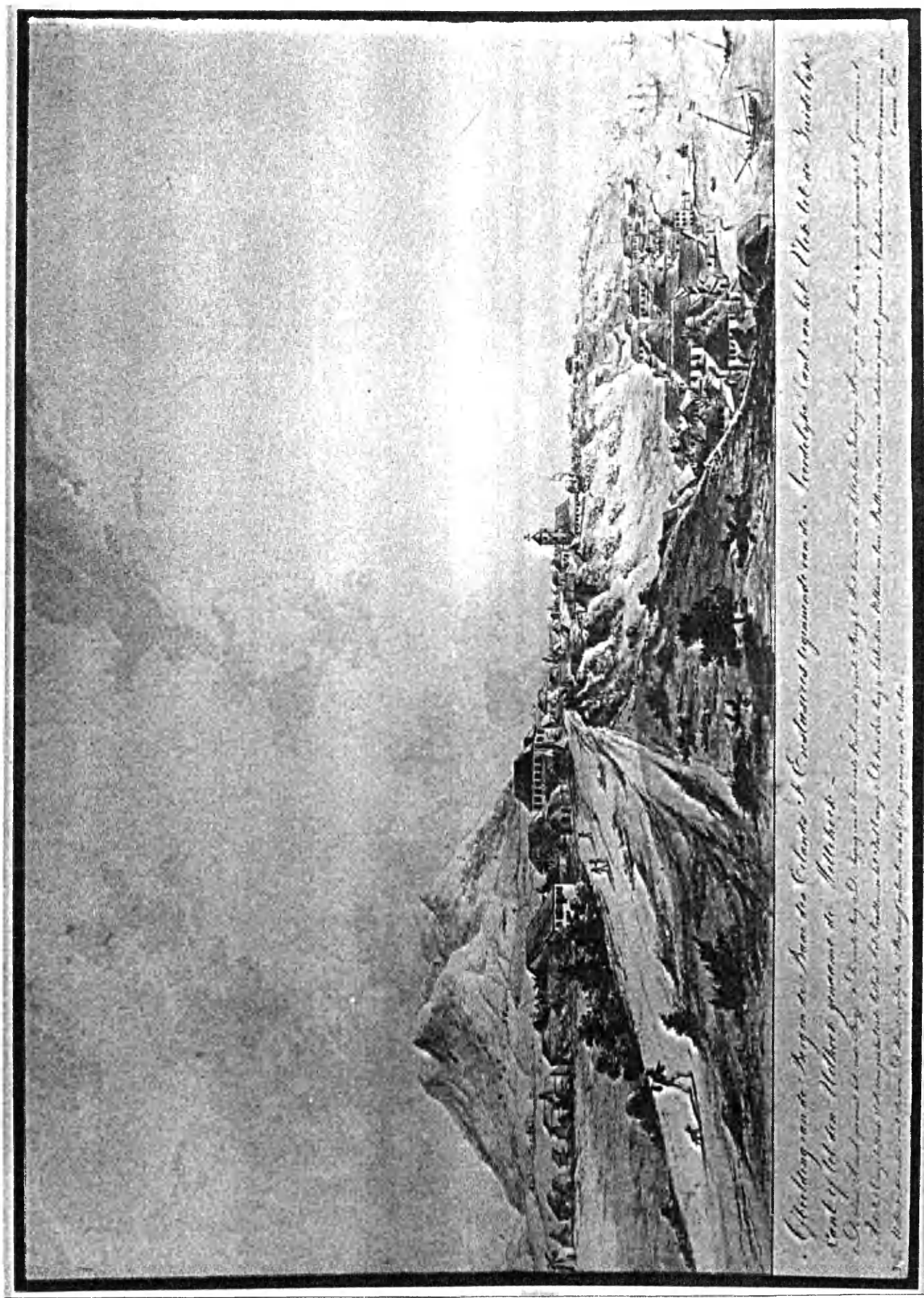


Figure 14. Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns of St. Eustatius Viewed from the North, 1774 (Appendix B, #4B)

great deal of expense and hard work. . ." on which to construct warehouses in the Lower Town (Attema 1976:37). Obviously, space was at a premium there too by this time. Archaeological investigation has discovered various sections of sea walls or breakwaters which were used to "shore-up" the land close to the beach enabling a firmer area for construction (Figure 15). With this fortification of the beach front construction proceeded on either side of the central road. It was this expansion on the water side of the road that led to the perception that the previous Waag was in an "unfortunate situation" and needed to be rebuilt closer to the shore in 1772.

Janet Schaw gives this description of the Lower Town in 1776.

It is however an instance of Dutch industry little inferior to their dykes; as the one half of the town is gained off the sea, which is fenced out by Barracodoes, and the other dug out of an immense mountain of sand and rock; which rises to a great height behind the houses, and will one day bury them under itThe town consists of one street a mile long, but very narrow and most disagreeable, as every one smokes tobacco, and the whiffs

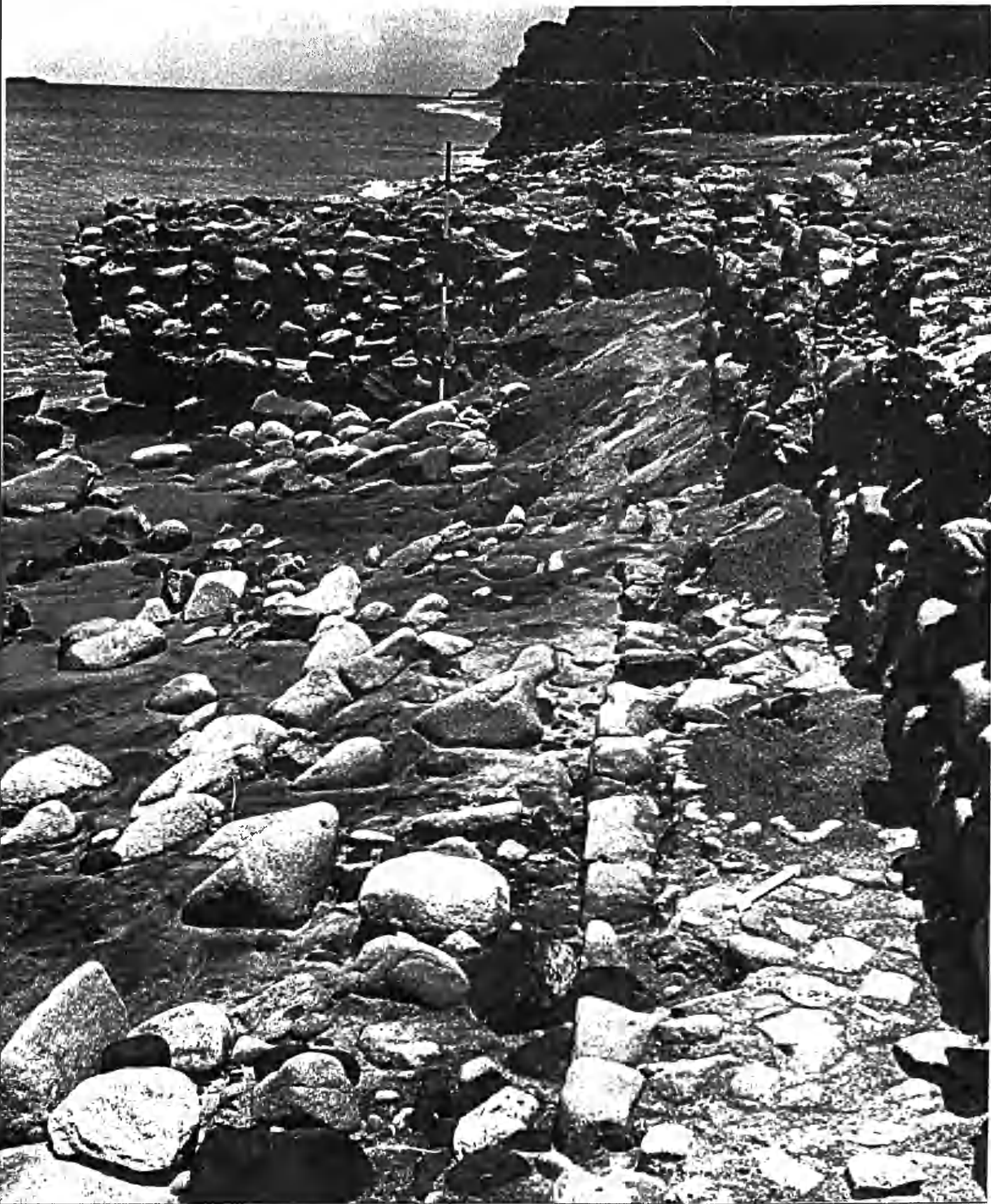


Figure 15. Building Ruins on the Lower Town Shore; 18th Century Seawall, Lower Right

are constantly blown in your face (Schaw 1971:136).

Schaw's observation of the threat of the collapse of the cliff face was an astute one for today much of the Lower Town ruins are buried under this debris, but the process appeared to have been well underway in the 18th century (Attema 1976:22, 25, 42). Zimmerman also spoke of the erosion of the cliff face.

About two weeks before my arrival there was a terrible cloudburst here. Part of the mountain [the cliff between the Upper and Lower Towns] was washed away and the old road [probably the Bay Path] to the top was entirely ruined. Damage at the Bay was reckoned at a million guilders (Hullu 1919:144-150).

Although the historians Hartog and Attema both note that some people lived in the Lower Town (based on a 1780 visit by ship's officer de Jong), in particular several merchants, one of whom was reputed to have a bridge between the upper gallery of his home to a roof top garden on a neighboring warehouse, this appears to have been the exception rather than the rule (Hartog 1976:44; Attema 1976:36). Zimmerman in describing his daily schedule states that

. . .from 8 o'clock to 1 every one goes about his business and I go from the mountain [the Upper Town] to the Bay, where all of the warehouses are - about 600, I should think. This makes a small city in itself, Down there it's a good three times as hot as up on the mountain; the breeze being cut off by the mountain it is blazing hot (Hullu 1919, 144-150).

The fact that housing and space in the Upper Town were at a premium probably forced some merchants to accommodate themselves in the Lower Town despite the of the lack of cooling breezes and the difficulties in being separated from the social and religious center that the Upper Town formed. As noted in Chapter 2, taverns and inns were to be found in the Lower Town, and those individuals who ran these must also have lived there as well as others in similar circumstances. While inability to pay the high rental or purchase prices of homes in the Upper Town may have forced some to live on the Bay, there is no reason to believe that this was standard, for the housing that was built on the Company land in the middle of the 18th century was occupied by many too poor to pay their rent (Attema 1976:34, 35).

Comparison between archaeological excavation, survey and historical drawings support the perception of a lack of rigid linear orientation to construction in the Lower Town.

Early construction clustered around the Waag and Company warehouse(s) at the foot of the Bay Path across from the Old Landing Place. As expansion continued, building continued close to the cliffs with a wide stretch of shore open to the water(see Figure 11). With the construction of the breakwaters, the other side of the street was formed but the street appears to have been very irregular, wider at some points than others, solely dependent on where the new buildings were put up (Figure 16). Although lots and buildings in the Lower Town were privately owned by the 19th century, it is possible that buildings constituted the sole property rights in the 17th and 18th centuries (Lampe, personal communication). This assessment is further supported by the jumbled arrangement of the Lower Town structures. Unlike warehouse areas in Netherland towns and even in Curacao, the vast majority of buildings in Statia's Lower Town were free-standing.

Demonstrating that Dutch building styles and town organization would not necessarily change drastically due to the ecology of the Caribbean is the 17th and 18th century town center of Williamstad, Curacao (Figure 17). There a walled area adjacent to the fort formed the nucleus of the town. The street plan was gridded into 28 rectangular blocks (although not completely regular) holding approximately 250 buildings. Two and three storied, narrow fronted yellow and red Dutch brick structures were built with their common walls butted up together as in the

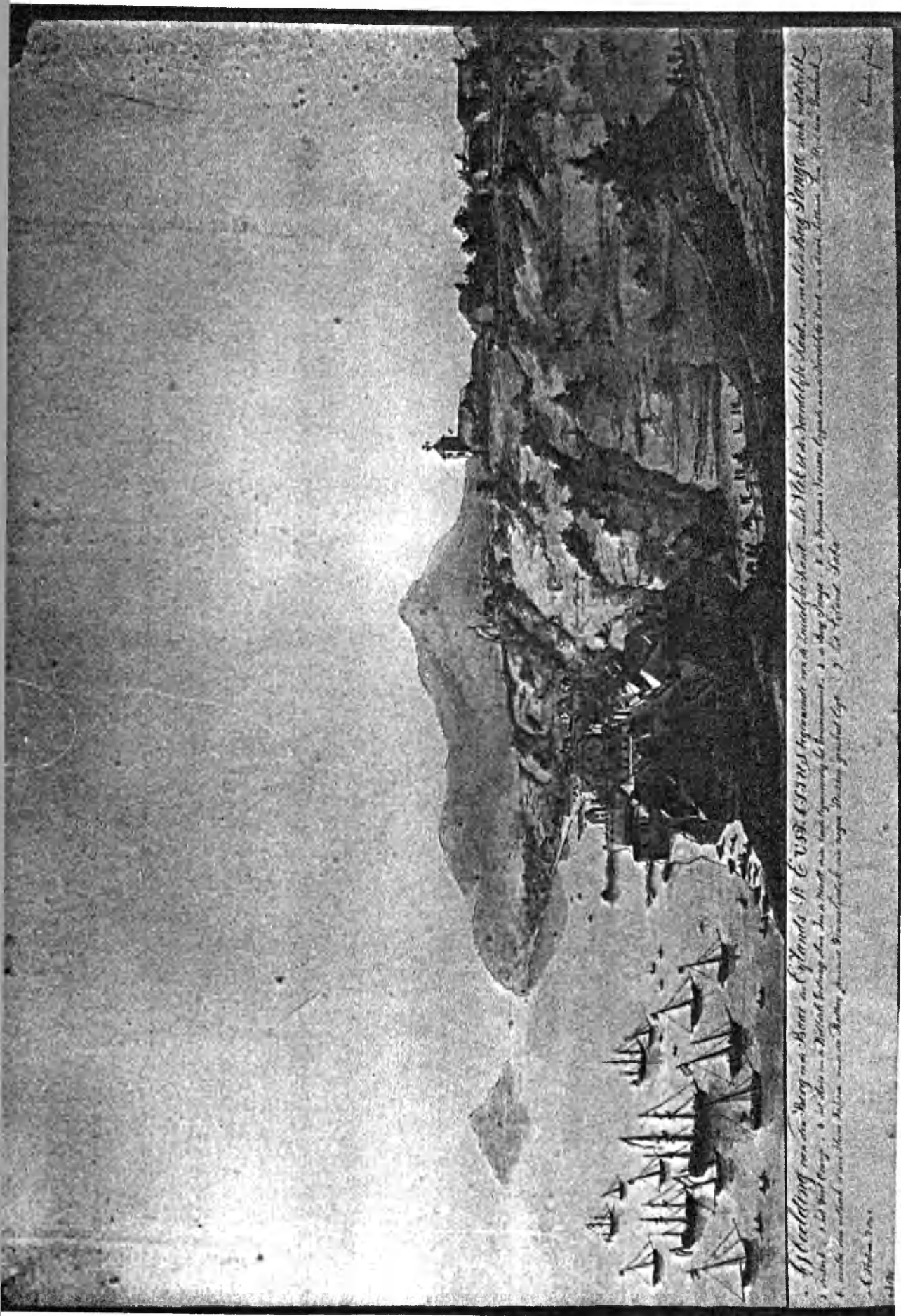


Figure 16. Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns of St. Eustatius Viewed from the South, 1774 (Appendix B, #4A)

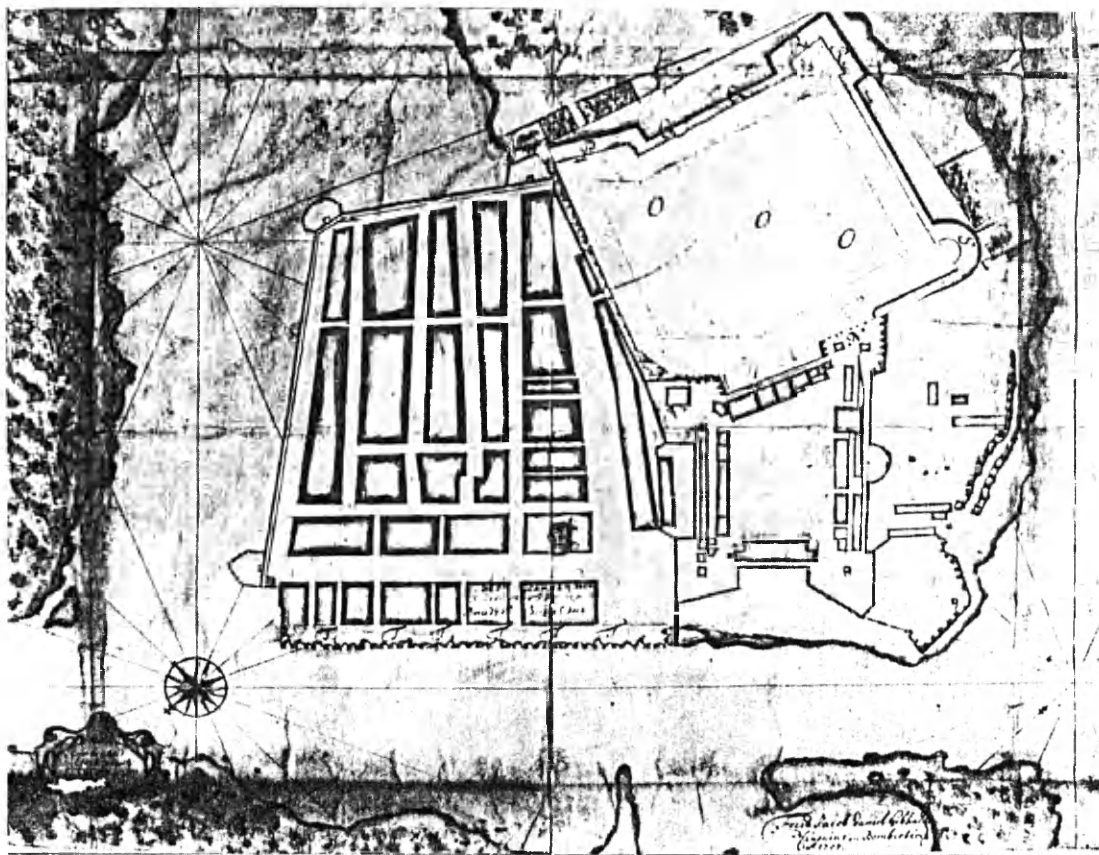


Figure 17. Plan of the Streets and Fort of Willemstad, Curacao; 1707 (Ozinga 1959: PL. XIII)

Netherlands urban style. Living quarters were upstairs and shops on the ground floor. Standard surface treatment of these buildings were plaster and white wash. Roofs were steep, ridged and covered with tiles. Decorated Dutch gables graced the narrow ends of the buildings as well as many of the dormers. The major structural concession to the Caribbean climate was the addition of open galleries to the second and third floors. Early 18th century drawings depict these as relatively simple wooden porches with wooden columns and angled brace supports underneath but rapidly changed to a highly decorative element with arches and baluster-shaped columns (Figure 18) (Ozinga 1959:139, 140).

The Dutch settlements of New Amsterdam (New York) and Beverwyck (Albany) also show little reference to the large amounts of space in this New World settings. In the towns themselves, lots were long and narrow with the multi-storied urban styled houses oriented with the narrow gable end facing the street (Smith 1980:19, 21, 28).

On St. Eustatius, drawings of the Lower Town from the 18th century (see Figure 14 and 16) show a building style devoid of any of these easily recognized decorative ingredients. Roofs are shingled with wood, the majority show hipped and vertical gables. Only one building is repeatedly depicted as having the Dutch curvilinear decorated gables. It was next to the Waag and consequently was probably the West India Company warehouse. Some were

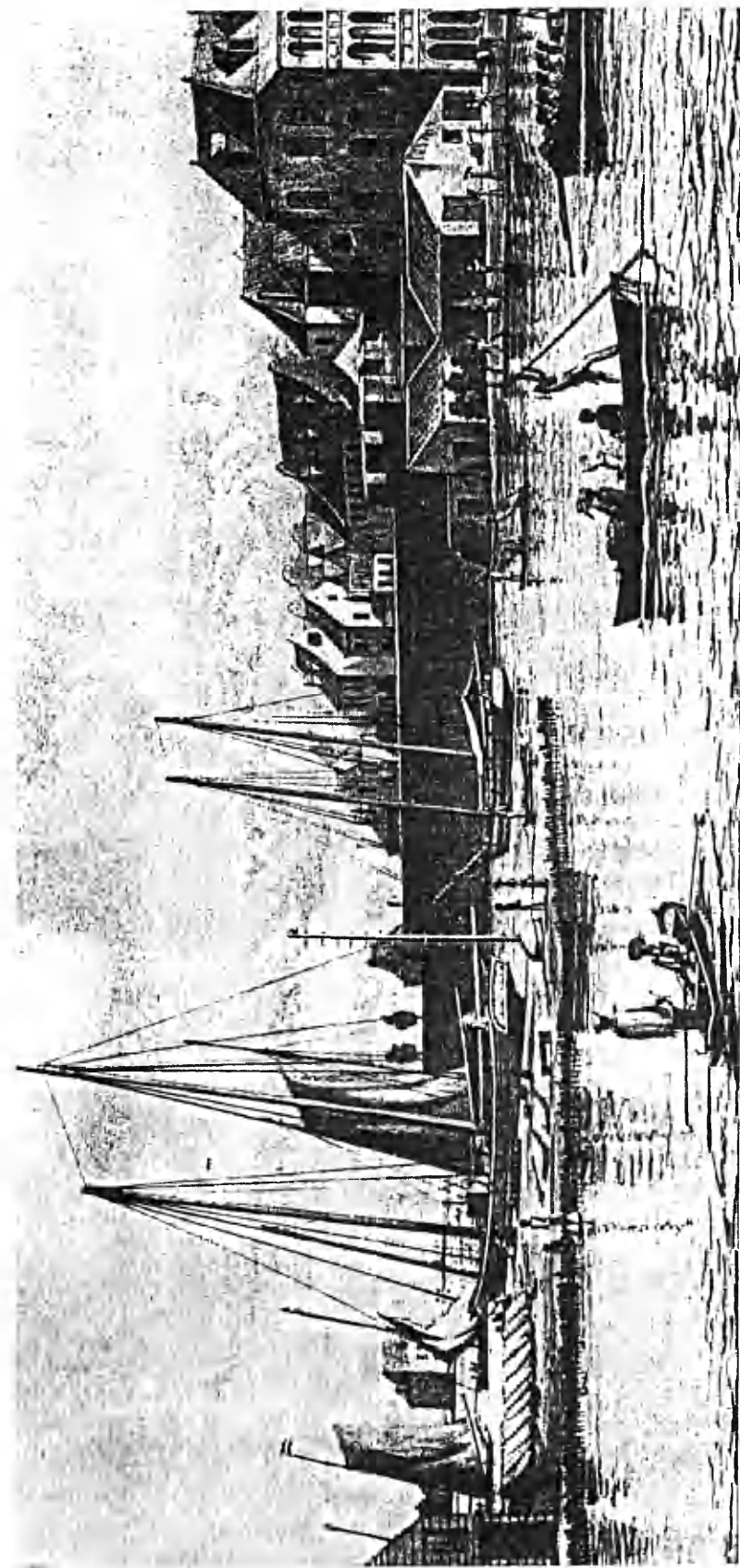


Figure 18. Two Views of Williamstad, Curacao. Above: 18th Century; Below: 19th Century
(Ozinga 1959: PL. VI)

obviously cut stone or Dutch brick throughout two stories, and several of these survive today but many others had a ground floor of stone or brick with the upper story of wood. This wooden upper story frequently extended out forming a covered porch area underneath with plain wood supports, or as a simple overhang providing more space in the second floor. Although no examples survive today in the Lower Town, archaeological excavations have uncovered the seatings for these support poles along one building (Appendix A.

In the Upper Town present day remnants of 18th century houses appear as two distinct styles. The first is that documented by Zimmerman in 1792 (see Figure 9).

The houses are mostly of a single story with a roof of 8 or 9 feet; they are built entirely of wood and the roofs are made of little planks called shingles. There are a few 2-story houses such as I show you in an accompanying sketch. They are masonry from below ground to a height of 2 or 3 feet and wood above that and have a gallery on the 1st floor, as in #1; #2 a wooden wainscoting like the exterior work.

This gallery is covered with the second #3 that resembles the substructure. The roof is of wooden shingles, and when you are on the

second floor you look through these shingles as in the game at the fair. . . . Most houses lack window panes, having at most summer-blinds, very neatly made of wood. The houses have windows and doors on all sides, so that it's quite cool in the mornings and evenings. In the sketch you'll note the floor plan of most houses, consisting usually of 3 rooms. The central room stands open for all to come in' the two side rooms are bed chambers and private rooms. (Hullu 1919:144-150)¹⁸

The second style of housing in the Upper Town is a full two storied Dutch brick building, only two examples of which are known. The first is part of the inner town plot known as the Three Sisters. Two sides of this building are exposed to the streets and the rest is enclosed in a private stone walled courtyard. One of the exterior faces has a second floor wooden balcony running the full length of the building. The other example comprises the 18th century portion of the Doncker-DeGraaff house (Figure 19). Oriented with the short side facing the road, the basement and foundation is constructed of cut stone with the elevated two floors entirely of brick. One wooden porch covers the second floor facing the street. It is not known if there was a functional or status difference between the two housing styles in the Upper Town in the 18th century.

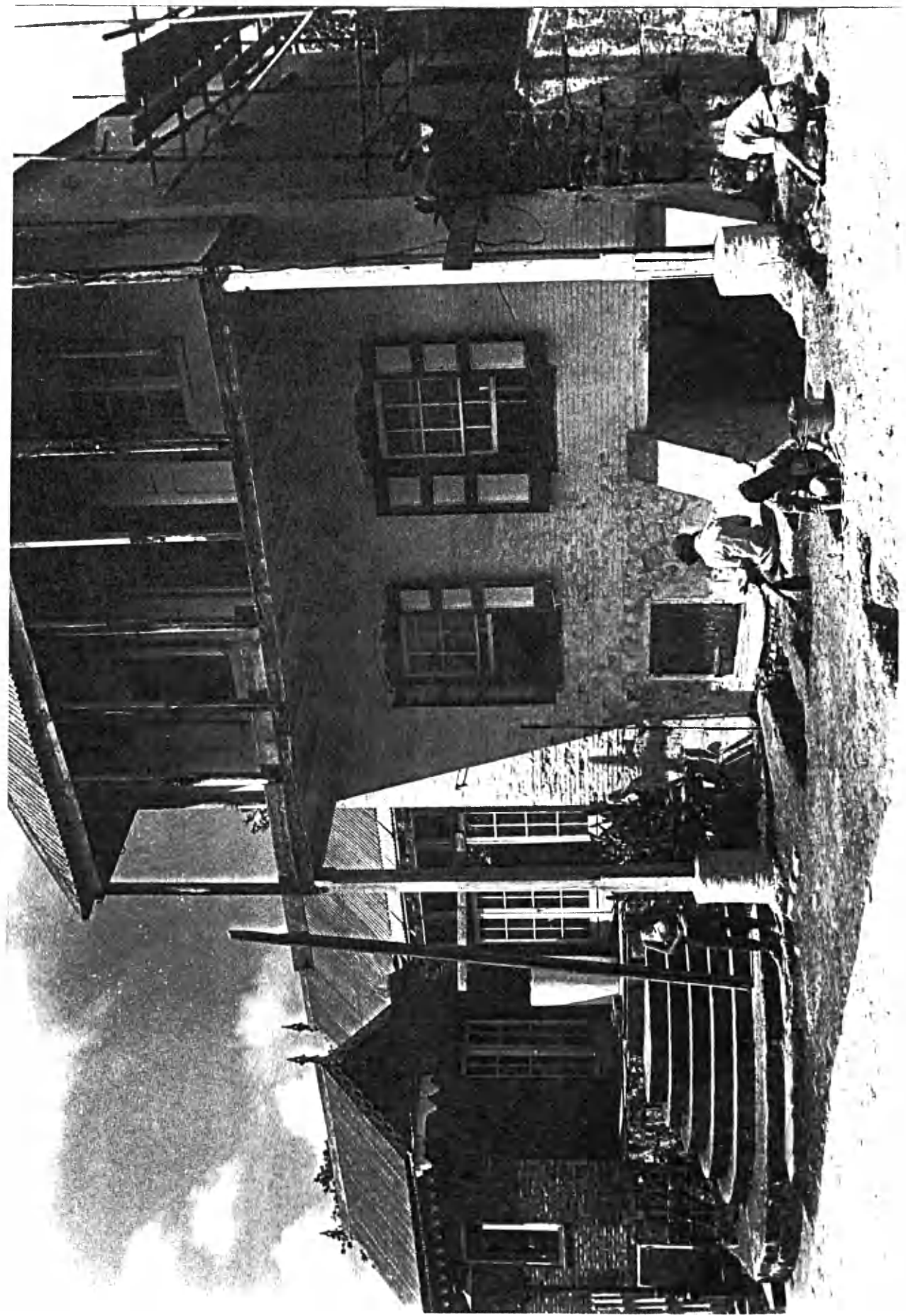


Figure 19. The Doncker-Degraaf House; to the Left is a More Recent Addition

While architectural features such as the Zimmerman described floor plan may very well reflect Dutch culture, the exterior styles of both the Upper and Lower Town in the 18th century appear to owe their origins to the English Caribbean island building style, particularly paralleling structures on Nevis and St. Kitts. The close ties of communication between Statia and these islands resulted in a change in this aspect of material culture and reflect a portion of the process of acculturation.¹⁹

Several other aspects of the Lower Town should be noted. The highest concentration of structures appears to have been directly below the fort and to the south of the foot of the Bay Path. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that on the cliff side of the streets, buildings stood three to four deep up to the base of the cliff (Appendix A). The second heaviest concentration lies between there and the area of Prospect, where the "New Landing Place" was as well as the new path up the cliff face. From the center of the Lower Town north, building also was intense and from one 18th century drawing appears to have started the climb up the Bay Road toward the top of the cliffs (see Figure 10). Building appears to have thinned out from Prospect south around Gallow Bay, but the road or path continued beyond to the site of "Crooks Castle" (Figure 20). Large cisterns and industrial style ruins have so far elicited conjecture as to the purpose of this apparent compound from a sugar refinery

PL: I:

PLAN en PROFIL.

der Geprojecteerde Batterijen op Bouille en Montplaisant.



ontworpen

Ingevolge het bijgelegd Plan van Defensie (Plan A) en nae gelazene Inspectie en bevestiging door de Commandant der Batterijen.

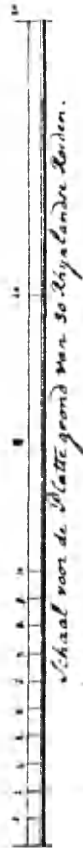
W. H. Hottinger
W. H. Hottinger
W. H. Hottinger

Geprojecteerde Nieuwe Anleg der Batterij Bouille voor 11 Kanonnen en 2 Houwitzen

Batterie Bouille

Geprojecteerde Batterij op Montplaisant voor 14 Kanonnen en 24^{de} 4 Mortieren en 2 Houwitzen

O. L. L.



Profil der Batterijen

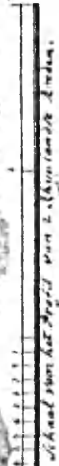


Figure 20. Plan of Batteries at Crook's Castle Gut (Appendix B, #3B)

(see Figure 10) to indigo processing to the complex of a 18th century entrepreneur Gosling, who even minted his own coins (Hartog 1976:45). A path led up the gut at "Crooks Castle" and on the south cliff face was a battery. On the north there appears to have been a small settlement called "Newe Dorp" or new village on several maps of the late 18th century (see Figures 8 and 10; Figures 21 and 22). Nothing else is known of this.

The origins of the phenomenon of the Lower Town lie within the factors previously discussed: geographical and environmental constraints related to access to land from the water, convenience, and defensive-military strategy. The significance of the Lower Town within the context of cross-cultural contact, the processes of culture change and acculturation lies in the maintenance as a task specific area, isolating it from the social and familial. The Lower Town was almost exclusively utilized for the activities of trade with foreigners. Trade goods were stored in the warehouses, business was carried out in the shops, offices, streets and probably on the ships in the anchorage. The West India Company provided the temporary housing for their slaves there. Transients, such as Janet Schaw, found their overnight accommodations at inns in the Lower Town. Undoubtedly, taverns and rum shops providing for the sailors

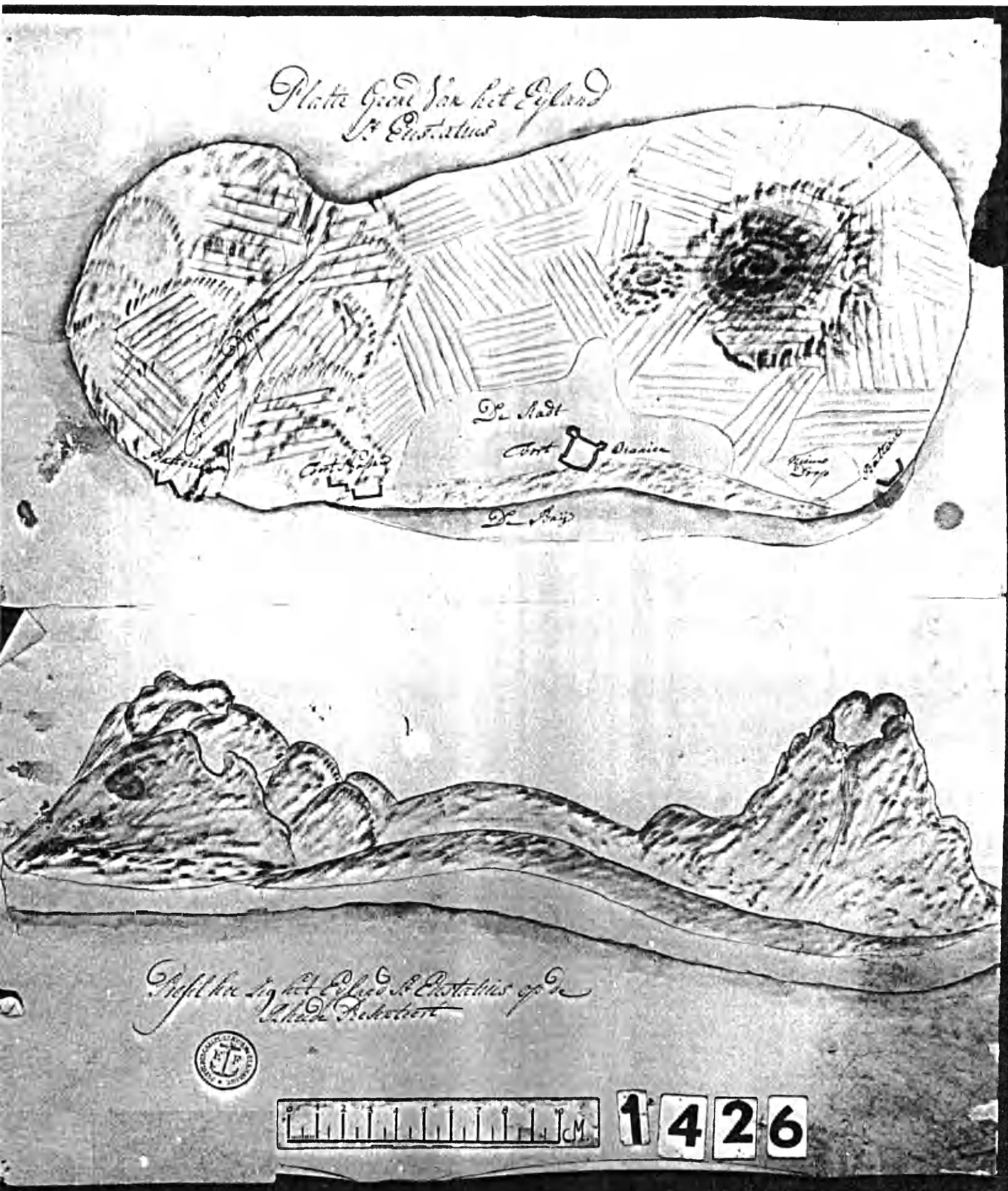


Figure 21. Plan and Profile of St. Eustatius, 18th Century (Appendix B, #2)

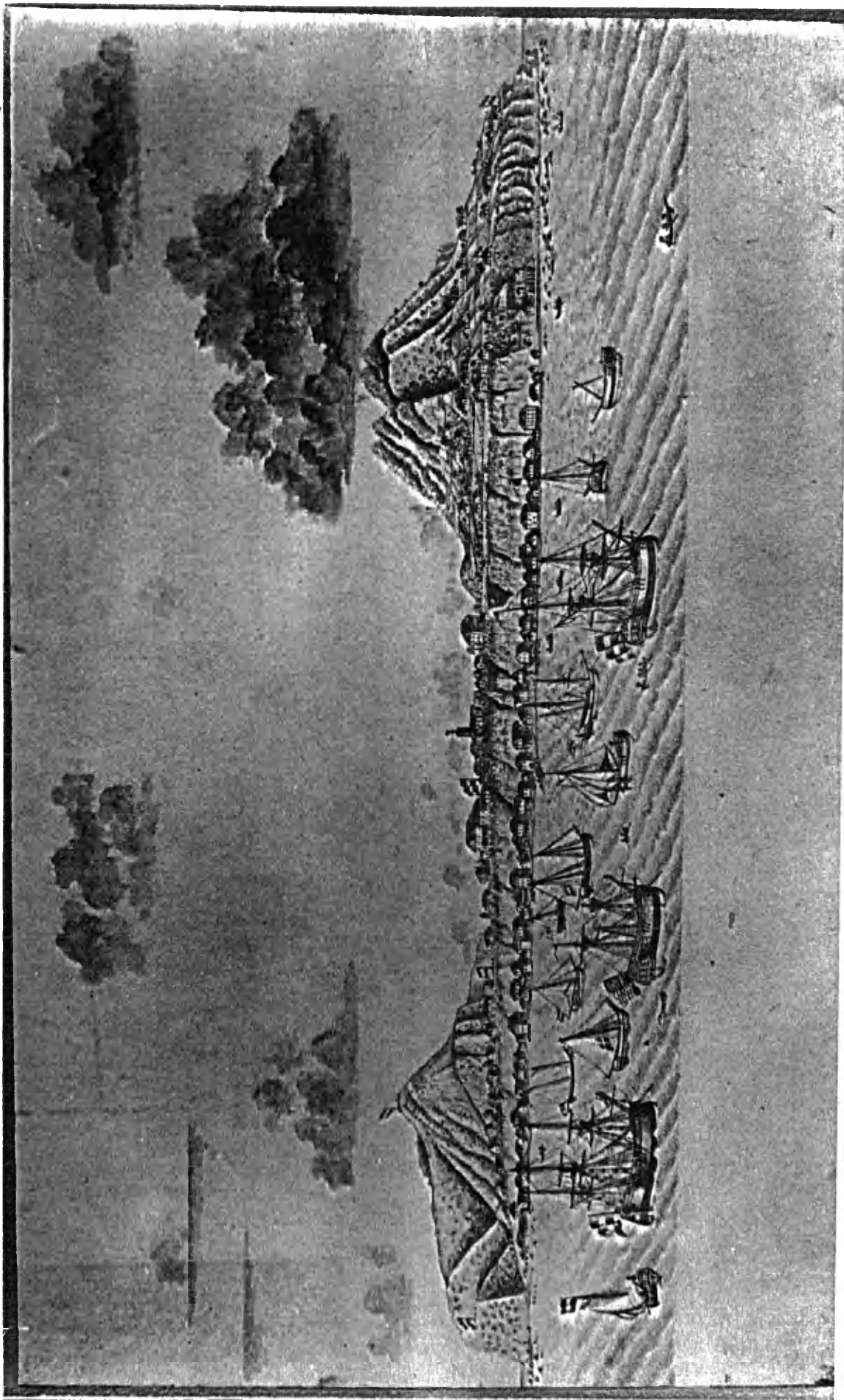


Figure 22. View of the East Coast of St. Eustatius, 1790 (Appendix B, #9)

and other short-term visitors to St. Eustatius. Except for those individuals with official business at Fort Oranje, the Lower Town supplied all of the needs for foreigners trading on the island. This concentration of business and services served to contain the contact situation in a relatively isolated unit. Access to the Upper town was limited by the number of paths and roads broaching the steep cliffs as well as by the lack of necessity to complete business there. This physical and activity-centered isolation served as a boundary separating not only the Dutch Statians from the foreigners attracted there for trade, but also separated those foreign traders who intended a more permanent residence on the island from those of a more transient nature. Individuals with social as well as business connections who came to St. Eustatius, intending to live there for an extended period of time, were absorbed into the Upper Town society. Those such as Zimmerman, who admitted that he planned a stay of five or six years, and had the social connections "recommending" him to various residents, were absorbed into the society, freely visiting with the "respectable folks" in the Upper Town and on the plantations. Religious pluralism indicates some social segregation but the full extent of this is unknown. Some political power in the second half of the 18th century appears to have lay with the Dutch Reformed-dominated council (Hartog 1976:115).

Another possibility, suggested by the existence of the Catholic church in the Lower Town, is that additional discrimination within the social network on the island was based on national and ethnic origins. Acceptance into the Upper Town could have been biased toward the English, especially from St. Kitts and Nevis, who formed the most important economic ties with the merchants on Statia and against the Spanish and French (more likely to represent a Catholic congregation).

Through the evidence formed by material culture, particularly building styles, and the switch to a new language, the society of St. Eustatius was undergoing a process of acculturation. In many ways, with the pressures accompanying numerous conquests, the contingences of trade and the English domination of that area of the Caribbean, this process could be considered an instance of forced change in some ways similar to that pressed onto the slaves brought from Africa. But the society of St. Eustatius appears to have been able to slow down somewhat this process and to instigate a selective system for controlling the multiple cultural influences accompanying the massive and continuous influx of foreigners dominating the island's economic livelihood. Structuring the contact situation through the boundary system of the separated Lower and Upper Towns allowed the trade to continue and grow bringing economic wealth to the island while the effects of this high contact situation were slowed in the society itself. This

slowing effect of the boundary system allowed for less destructive means of change to take place such as diffusion, substitution and/or addition. Structurally the Dutch culture could then remain basically unaffected or only minimumly changed.²⁰

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been twofold, historical reconstruction and, through the first, investigation of cultural change. But this methodology has drawbacks in that historical reconstruction is obviously dependent on the biases of the original documenters. Some levels of the sociocultural system are more completely recorded than others, and consequently the full range of factors affecting culture change are not known. One particular level in this study of which we have uncovered very little information is that basic unit of cultural transmission, the family.

The archaeological data has been used mainly to verify, correct and supplement the information from the historical documents but the potential for gaining new knowledge is great. Perhaps the most obvious objective would be comparative studies of the material culture of individual house sites to develop a base of information on family-centered activity. House sites with documentation of ownership would be particularly significant in that comparisons between different national origins or ethnic

considerations could produce information on culture continuity and culture change. More subtle social distinctions than presented in this thesis would arise from the presence of neighborhood divisions in the Upper Town. Acculturation could also be documented in a study of the evolution of housing styles in Oranjestad.

The hypothesis presented in this paper invited further testing through archaeological excavation. Detailed quantitative and qualitative comparison of the Upper and Lower Towns' material cultures could produce indications of patterned behaviors refining our understanding of 18th century boundary criteria.

One area of major importance to modern day Statians is the desire for social and cultural information on the slave and freedmen populations. Even if for no other reason the fact that from 1665 on the majority of the island's population has been of African derivation should point out the significance of this type of archaeological study.

Examination of the data derived from historical reconstruction through the concept of subsystems within the society-culture, although incomplete, can produce some indication of the changes which took place. As pointed out it was through the adoption of a different economic system that the society of St. Eustatius was exposed to a rapidly increasing intense situation of cultural contact. The

switch from a strategy of agriculture to trade was one that entailed a shift within Dutch sociocultural possibilities and although originally brought about by immigrants, these individuals were almost entirely Dutch. Undoubtedly, many factors were responsible for this change such as an ineffectual and probably corrupt governing system. The low level of profit associated with an agricultural colony and the resultant minimal directives focused on the island would have encouraged the growth of illegal trade. It is also possible that loss of soil fecundity and land consolidation related to sugar cultivation encouraged a switch to trade or its support occupations. Somewhat ironical is the fact that the growth of trade led to punitive reactions in the form of numerous conquests of Statia which, while undermining the profitability of farming by disrupting land tenure, crop harvesting and necessitating the reconstruction of the farm system itself, encouraged diversification into trade increasing the whole island's involvement.

The switch to trade also entailed a change in the value systems beginning with the concept of nonalliance with the W.I.C.'s goals. The W.I.C. appears never to have used Statia for its extensive slave trade in the 17th century and instead relied on Curacao to pursue the slave trade with the Spanish colonies. Statia carried out her own slave trade by using the interlopers, breaking the company's monopoly. The shift from a strategy where profits were directly dependent on the relationship with the company to one where

profits came from circumventing company policy surely affected many aspects of life on Statia.

The initial widespread use of the English language also is most likely traced back to extensive trade with the English islands. This adoption could best be viewed as a technological adjustment reflecting the dominance of the size of the English colonies as a market.

The changes in St. Eustatius' subsystems have, to this point, been more of a process of adaptation to a changing economic system and less from pressures outside of this society. The one major exception is the stress of the multiple captures of the island by the English and French. Each succeeding conquest had a cumulative effect, the most obvious was in the halving of the population between the years 1665 to 1705 (see Figure 5). Trade also dropped off and agriculture appears to have once again dominated the economic system. As trade revived in the 18th century, the society on St. Eustatius showed signs of stress in the elements of its subsystems. This stress was directly attributable to extensive cultural contact from the rapidly escalating trade and appeared in two forms. The first is the influx of transients to the island, participating in trade. Ship captains and their crews, visitors to the market place and planters who came warehouse their goods arrived in increasing numbers with the potential to heavily disrupt other aspects of Statian society. The second is in

the form of traders, factors and businessmen who came to, temporarily or permanently, establish themselves on the island in order to take advantage of the growing market. The reactions in Statia's subsystems point out the results as well as the attributes of the cultural subsystem in the process of self-maintenance.

The following discussion will be directed toward itemizing the variables of specific subsystems within the society. It will follow the outline of the "four principal facets of . . . acculturation" found in the 1953 memorandum on acculturation studies by the Social Science Research Council (Broom et al. 1967:255-286). These are

- (1) the characterization of the properties of the . . . cultural systems which come into contact;
- (2) the study of the nature of the contact situation;
- (3) the analysis of conjunctive relations . . . upon contact; and
- (4) the study of the [resultant] cultural processes. . . (Broom et al. 1967:258).

The economic system, dominated by the trade industry was of course the source of the escalating contact situation in the 18th century. Conflicts between the national powers in Europe and the New World disrupted trade networks forming the basis for unique conjunctive relationships. St. Eustatius was able to capitalize on Dutch policy of

non-interference, continuing the tradition of maintaining an open port to all parties and to push this further by welcoming individuals who wished to trade outside of their country's monopoly. In the context of intercultural roles, Statian merchants functioned as a stable and undiscerning route by which any goods could be sold or bought. The merchants themselves worked as individuals, established in a neutral setting but able to profit from the dissatisfaction or ruined trade connections found in the neighboring islands. Access to the Netherlands ports enabled Statian merchants to supply a tremendous range of goods of European national origins, German, Dutch, English, French and Spanish, whereas trade on the more restricted islands could not offer this variety. As J. Schaw observed, many products were cheaper on Statia than even in Europe because of low duties. The stability of many of the merchants on Statia allowed a long-term multifunctional trade relationship; ship's captains were frequently referred to a specific merchant by the person or group whose merchandize was on board. These same Statian merchants acted as postal drops in the mail circuit between the colonies and Europe, particularly important when wars disturbed regular mail routes. Foreign goods, especially sugar from the British islands were warehoused on Statia by the growers to circumvent direct trade laws and to gain higher prices than sales in England would bring. At one point French trade permits were being sold on Statia.

The commander of the island was also included in the network of intercultural communication granting a formality and sanction to business transacted there. Many of the 18th century Statian commanders participated actively in trade and in their merchant roles they were frequently at odds with their official duties and responsibilities to the West India Company. Access to Statia's power network and the recognition between all parties involved that the trade in the Lower Town was much more important than official government policy created a sense of solidarity and mutual unity which extended beyond the economic system. In particular, temporary safety from political harassment was to be had in Statia's anchorage.

With Zimmerman's letter it has been demonstrated that social connections between immigrant traders and the rest of the islands inhabitants was possible. Through the utilization of the boundary system in the Upper Town-Lower Town dichotomy, a distinction was made between individuals who maintained frequent trade intercourse as well as those who established residency on the island and individuals who's short stay could be accommodated in the Lower Town. Undoubtedly, there were standards for social classification but once accepted into the upper class, social networks included both the agricultural-rural and urban inhabitants. This capitalization on a geographical feature allowed the containment of many of the more disruptive aspects of high volume trade. In relating this boundary system to the

characteristics of the culture, it is difficult to define the culture overall itself as open or closed although the Lower Town-Upper Town phenomenon is probably an elaboration on earlier mechanisms (Broom et al. 1953:260). Intercultural roles were established by separating foreigners into categories, consequently socialization could then be better controlled.

The growth of a variety of religious sects in the 18th century demonstrates a different process of socialization than that which took place in the 17th century. Earlier, the number of immigrants arriving on St. Eustatius representing different religious traditions were apparently suppressed or allowed to integrate into the Dutch Reformed. In the 18th century foreigners arrived in large enough numbers to make this impossible or undesirable. Allowing these differences to exist would not necessarily reflect a halt on the socializing processes in the remainder but instead indicate a status of stabilized pluralism which defused some of "the stresses of interethnic situations" (Broom et al. 1967:279). That the process evolved to the point where the Dutch Reformed church disintegrated and was replaced by the Methodist is reflective of inroads into the slave and freedman population by the Methodists. This produced a continuity beyond the fall of the trade network and the loss of general knowledge of the Dutch language, two factors affecting the demise of the Dutch Reformed church.

Another aspect of the religious system on St. Eustatius is the possibility of a reactive adaptation in the correlation between membership in the island council and membership in the Dutch Reformed Church. On St. Maarten a low population count coupled with a large percentage of English immigrants led to attempts to make English the council language (Hartog 1981:87). A larger Dutch population on Statia could have used the Dutch language and membership in the Reformed church to maintain exclusive control over the council.

After the collapse of Statian trade in the first decades of the 19th century, the nature of this island's progressive adjustments would have been affected by new conjunctive relations. The migration of the vast majority of the population (see population chart) left a core of mixed nationals who reverted to an economic system of agriculture and servicing occasional ships (Hartog 1976:126, 127, 128). Within the society itself there is evidence of intermarriage between some Dutch, English and Irish inhabitants but there still appeared to be some conflict over the use of the English and Dutch languages. Social networks were maintained between St. Eustatius and St. Kitts (France 1984:175-178). The blow to agriculture with the mid-century abolition of slavery and the resultant weakened economic system encouraged emigration further reducing the size of the white population. The loss of the number necessary for a viable social system among the whites may have stimulated

more social contact with neighboring islands. In 1884, out of a population of 1600 individuals only 50 were white (Hartog 1976:127). With emancipation and the gradual loss of the whites, the black and colored population rose in effective importance. It is in the relationship between the black Statians and the other islands of the Caribbean that social and cultural processes of this century are to be understood.

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF LOWER TOWN MATERIAL CULTURE

In examining the material attributes of the Lower Town it becomes apparent that the majority of information relates to the period spanning roughly from 1781-1784 (a French occupation friendly to the Dutch) through the Dutch occupation, 1784 through 1795, and into the 1795-1801 French occupation - hostile to the Dutch.

Exact dating of the building ruins in the Lower Town has not yet been accomplished. From historical materials, maps, drawings and records we can assume that the majority of ruins in the area date from the second half of the 18th century. This period marks the most intense physical buildup of this coastal region. This does not preclude intense prior activity, especially in the area below the Bay Path (the most central region of the Lower Town); but evidence appears to indicate that earlier constructions were replaced, such as the construction of the New Waag in 1772.

Three factors are at fault in obscuring dating of the ruins. The first is the continued exposure of the ruins to human activity. The dismantling of the abandoned warehouses in the 19th and 20th centuries for stone and brick and the use of bulldozers has shifted large areas around. The second factor is the continued collapse of the edges of the cliff dumping massive quantities of soil and artifact material from the Upper Town into and over these ruins. The third factor is the erosion and scouring of the land edge through storms (Figure 23).

Archaeological investigation of the Lower Town has encompassed five test excavations and a mapping (Figure 24) and photo survey of the exposed ruins. Another site undergoing bulldozer clearing was documented as much as possible during the destruction process.

The excavations were undertaken to determine the nature of the deposits found at various points. S1/ was chosen as indicative of the cliff side of the Lower Town. Test units were opened approximately half way between the cliff base and the present road. This area slopes in the first 60 feet from the road west approximately 10 feet and from there the gradient rapidly increases over the next c. 80' at a 45

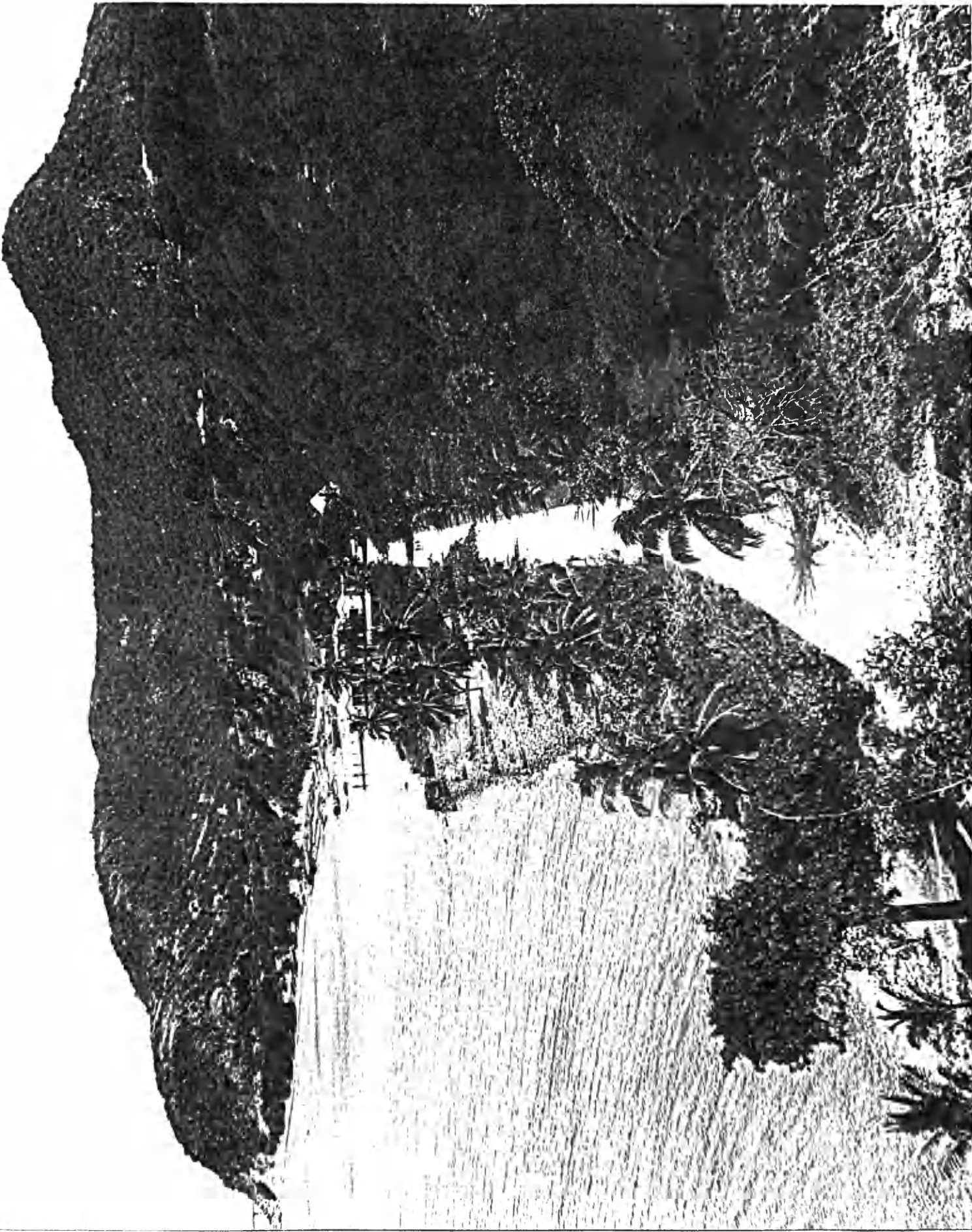


Figure 23. The Present Day Lower Town and Cliffs from Prospect

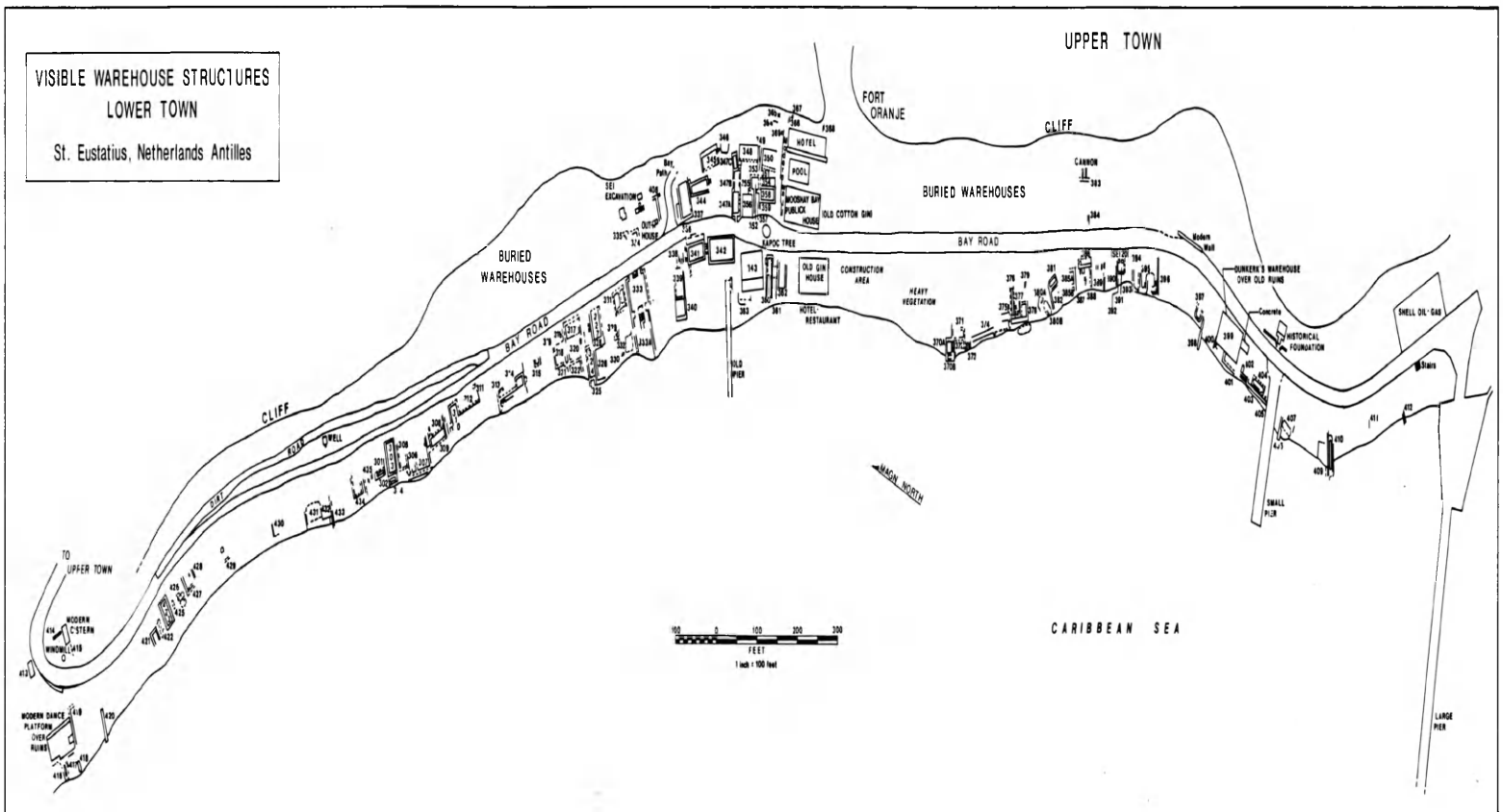


Figure 24. Survey Map of the Visible Lower Town Ruins (1983, N. Barka)

degree angle. Undisturbed subsoil was never reached; the deepest unit was 7 feet deep and the fill was composed of fall-out from the cliff with scattered artifacts. Terminus post quem never progressed further back in time than late 18th early 19th centuries. One wall exposed 2 feet below top soil extended down another 5 feet but excavation stopped before the footing was reached. Wall construction ranged from all yellow brick, to brick on top of faced stone, to faced stone with mortared rubble interior. The one flooring uncovered was of stone, top and sides faced roughly rectangular but with the base rough and unfinished. Another surfacing found on the outside of a brick and stone wall was of cobblestone, possibly an alley or skirt.

SE120/ was undertaken to test the water side of the street for depth and complexity of the deposit (Figure 25). Again, no occupation levels were found, probably scoured out during storms. Instead the interior of the walls was occupied with fill from cliff washout. Here the warehouse walls were red brick on faced stone foundation. The fragment of flooring found was yellow brick set on its side for greater strength. The wall construction date could be only estimated as post 1740 (from white saltglaze ceramics); the warehouse was destroyed circa 1820 (Samford 1984:31).

Four different sections of a sea wall or breakwater have been distinguished in the Lower Town and test excavation was undertaken at SE309/ to further explore this walls relationship with the warehouse ruins. At this site, the warehouses foundations were built over the seawall extending into what is today beach and water (see Figure 15). The wall itself is approximately 3 feet wide and of rubble and mortar construction with flat-faced stones on its inner and outer surfaces. The top face is flat providing a surface suitable for pedestrian use. The base of the wall was not found and the wall is at least 4 feet high.

S19/ comprised a narrow corridor between two warehouse ruins and deadended at a stonewall at the face of the cliff. Varying in width from 1 feet. to almost 4 feet., this corridor was too narrow to be used for any other purpose except pedestrian passage; as no doorways opened into it, it was probably not used this way at all. The deposit found in this area was varied from 1 1/2 feet. to 6 feet. deep, packed with broken ceramics, fine glassware, bottles, iron hardware and animal bone. The entire deposit appears to date to the circa 1820's although it may be slightly earlier. The large quantity of ceramics would seem to rule out normal refuse from one household, but the most distinctive aspect of the collection is that the majority of ceramics were British: creamware and pearlware.

Salvage activities were undertaken when a bulldozer was used to clear out an area of collapsed cliff threatening a building of the Gin House Hotel. As the machine tore away at

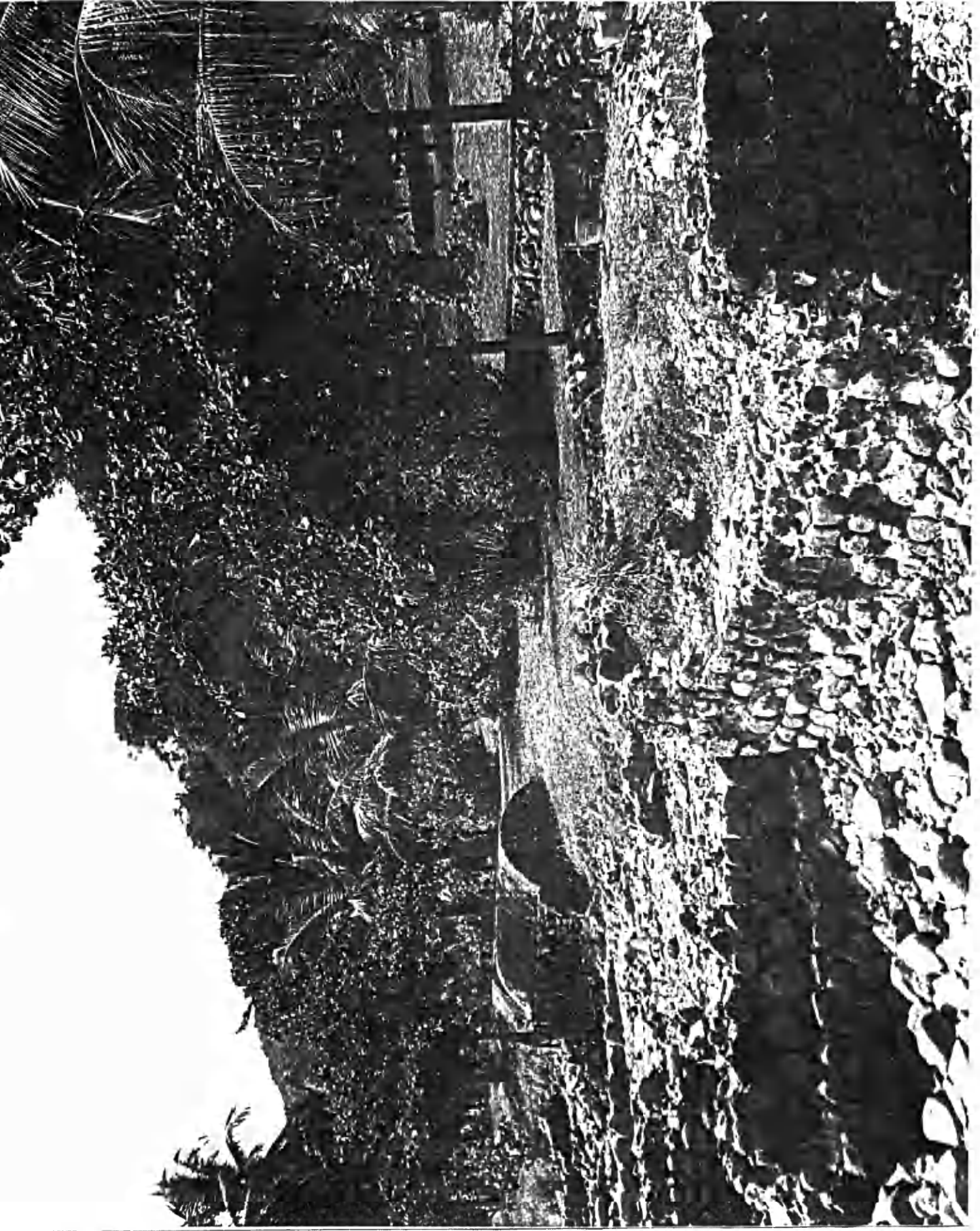


Figure 25. Warehouse and Cistern Ruins on the Southern Shore of the Lower Town

the base of the cliff, long buried warehouse ruins were exposed and immediately destroyed. The major content of these ruins appeared to be whole bottles (empty and unplugged) of glass and stoneware from the late 18th early 19th centuries.

S7/ is the grouping of stone ruins known as Crooks Castle (Figure 26) in a gut some distance south of the major portion of the Lower Town. The triangular shaped area is surrounded on 2 sides with stone walls and the third side backs up to the cliff. Within the walls lie a number of structural ruins and several cisterns. In the center of the gut's beach is a stone well. Although the use of this complex has not yet been discovered, the recovery of large amounts of broken earthenware sugar cones indicate that sugar refining is likely.

Survey of Visible Warehouse Structures - (see Figures 3 and 24)

The majority of structural ruins above ground are to be found on the bay side of the Lower Town road (Bay Road). Two environmental factors are evident in this: the cliff side of the Lower Town is being constantly buried by landslides from the cliff face and the bay side is exposed to erosion and the scouring effects of storm waves.

Within the past 25 years many alterations have been made to the Lower Town. The Bay Road itself was paved presumably in the 1960s. A metal windmill and cistern utilize a well at the northern road access to the Lower Town. A concrete "dance platform" faces the beach; several outhouses are to be found near the center of the Lower Town. Also here is the Old Gin House, Mooshay Bay Hotel and Restaurant complex begun in 1972. The first large electric generator arrived on Statia in 1961 and presumably occupied the GEEB building. The Dive Shope is housed in a rehabilitated red brick building also in this area which is possibly the gabled W.I.C. warehouse of the 18th century. To the south is Dunkerk's warehouse, a modern building based on 18th century ruins. Adjacent to this is the 1973 "small pier" and across the street is the Historical Foundation's new welcome center built in 1982. Further to the south in Gallows Bay is the 1975-76 Large Pier. Across the road is the Shell Station (build in 1967?).

Other alterations include the concrete reinforcement of Claesgut (after 1976) to retard erosion. The Bay Path is supposed to have been paved in 1787 (Hartog 1976:104). Some alterations have been made such as at the top where the road along the cliff has eroded away and this access has been blocked. Concrete has been used to cover damaged or loose stonework.



Figure 26. Building Ruins at Crook's Castle

The "old pier" was an attempted construction in 1906 (for cotton and sisal export) and was originally 148 feet long; in a 1910 photo (Hartog 1976:106) it is shown as a simple pier on steel/wooden pilings. In a circa 1935 photo the pilings are all that is left (Hartog 1976:44). The concrete now at the base of the steel pilings could be from the 1933 or 1934 (if photo dated wrong) or from the '58 or '61 attempted pier constructions.

For a number of years the Lower Town has undergone a "beautification Project" in which shrubbery has been removed, grass encouraged to grow and kept mowed and flowering bushes such as oleander planted and watered. For at least 10 years a new hotel has been under construction south of the Gin House: The Golden Era Hotel.

The area covered in the Lower Town survey encompasses the new dance platform to the north, south to the new pier. [Outside of the survey area proceeding north can be found the ruins of the waterfront (heavily overgrown), Godet or Billy's Gut, and further north but not accessible by the beach is Tumbledown Dick Bay (today occupied by the new oil terminal and its pier). The area surrounding Gallows Bay was heavily bulldozed in 1976 in connection with the construction of the new pier. Accessible by a narrow strip of rubble covered beach to the south is Crooks Castle.] The Lower Town today ranges in width approximately from 130 feet to 260 feet. The length is approximately 4000 feet between the dance platform and the new pier.

One hundred and thirty six above-ground structures or fragments of structures has been mapped. All are of stone and/or brick construction. Thirty-one of the 136 area on the cliff side of the Bay Road and all of these except four are clustered in the area between Claesgut and immediately north of the Bay Path. Interestingly enough, this is the historical center of the Lower Town, the location of the old custom house, the 1772 custom house, the Bay Path and the Old Landing Place.

Elements of buildings in Lower Town (structure numbers refer to Figure 24):

1. Function (house vs. warehouses) cannot be distinguished from form.
2. Buildings usually built as individual units (exception 358, 359 area sharing walls).
3. No attention spent in exact alignment between buildings.
4. Walls within buildings are frequently not at 90 degree angles or true parallel.
5. Access space not always allowed for between buildings.

6. Most common type of construction is mortar and rubble-fill faced out with flat surfaced stone or brick.
7. Brick structures frequently show evidence of plaster and whitewash inside and out (Figure 27) - stone surfaced building show evidence of plaster and whitewash on inside only.
8. Brick frequently used for structural details in stone buildings (insets for beams 310) windows and doors.
9. Brick used for spot repair of stonewall (358A).
10. Rubble construction corners are found that expand into massive acretions - perhaps indicating between basement and first or foundation floor.
11. Windows and doors rectangular and with arches finished with cut stone and/or brick.
12. Cut stone quoins were occasionally used.
13. Fifteen cisterns have been identified as such by the characteristics of curved corners, plastered inside, and are arched brick roof. The designs show variety (see Figures 25; Figures 28 and 29).
14. Brickwork shows no particular bond.
15. In buildings built entirely of brick usually yellow or red and not mixed (exception 341). 17. Some buildings show basements (341, 347A, 331).
16. Some buildings show basements (341, 347A, 331).
17. Foundations of all brick and stone buildings were of stone: unfaced and wider than walls.
18. One wall topped off with a mortar and broken bottle capping (alteration or original intention?).

Archaeological data supports the historical ascertainment of massive structural buildup of the Lower Town in the second half of the 18th century. The intensity of this usage is demonstrated by the building remains found on the extreme (and less stable) edges of the strip of land comprising the Lower Town. Structural ruins have been found immediately at the base of the cliff adjacent to Claesgut. The delicacy of this position is demonstrated by the fact that these ruins were completely hidden by the collapse of the cliff material. Although erosion of the cliffs may have been accelerated in more recent times by the paving of roads in the Upper Town, the friability of the cliff composition would assure constant collapse in spite of above-cliff



Figure 27. Eighteenth Century Yellow Brick Building in the Lower Town



Figure 28. Eighteenth Century Cistern Ruin in Southern Lower Town



Figure 29. Eighteenth Century Cistern Ruin in Lower Town; Interior

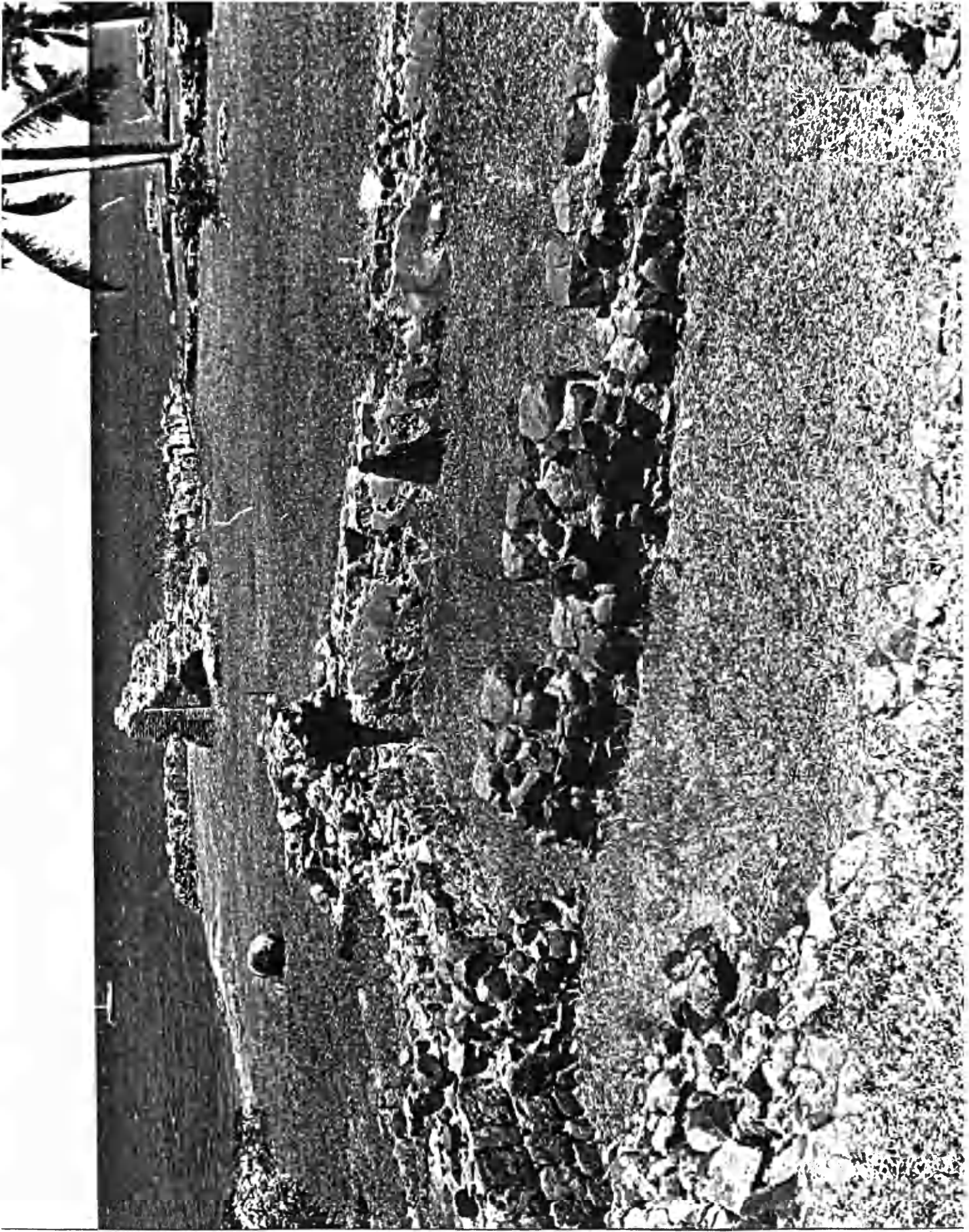


Figure 30. Eighteenth Century Warehouse Walls in the Lower Town

activity. At the other environmental limit of the Lower Town, building ruins are to be found extending out into the Bay itself as much as 15 to 20 feet. Those isolated fragments appear not to define the outer limit of these buildings but represent the destruction of the buildings on the shore by wave (storm) action. The outer extension of the buildings beyond today's shoreline is probably more in the range within 10-15 feet. Tidal action at St. Eustatius is minimal and no determination has been made as to the rise or fall of the water level in this area over the last 200 years. Erosion of the coast line could be a solely natural process or could be accelerated by the construction, fortification and even extension of the shoreline in the 18th century.

Particularly in the central region of the Lower Town, building activity was intense, represented by the proximity of the building walls themselves in many instances leaving few means of access. Standing ruins on the cliff side of the road in this area are today as much as five "buildings" deep, and bulldozer activity indicate as many as seven structures deep existed here spanning from the road to the cliff face. Granted that those buildings may not be contemporary with one another, the intense use of space here points to heavy competition for construction land. Here and elsewhere, excavation has exposed successive levels of construction. Foundation of earlier buildings are to be found under the walls now exposed. While some of these earlier walls were used as foundations for the later structures, frequently there is no alignment between these two (or more) building stages. It would be tempting to use this non-alignment information to draw conclusions about the rapidity of construction and utilization of the Lower Town or to point to the lack of attention to formal plot alignment and to the range in right angles even in building construction as indicative of slave labor. All that can truly be stated is that buildings were adapted to the space available and such niceties at 90 degree angles frequently fell to the wayside. Figure 31 show the plan of an 18th century house in Curacao demonstrating the interior results of a rectangular house plan lacking the 90 degree angles.

Although oral history credits at least one of these ruins as being recent (late 19th early 20th century) one can safely assume that the majority of ruins date to the second half of the 18th century because there is no reason for other than isolated construction or rehabilitation after the collapse of trade on the island. Unfortunately dating of the earliest (deepest) ruins would necessitate the destruction of the structural material above and has not yet been undertaken.

Conjecture based on available information indicates that the majority of buildings in the Lower Town were built of stone and brick. Structures #347A-347C is a two-stored

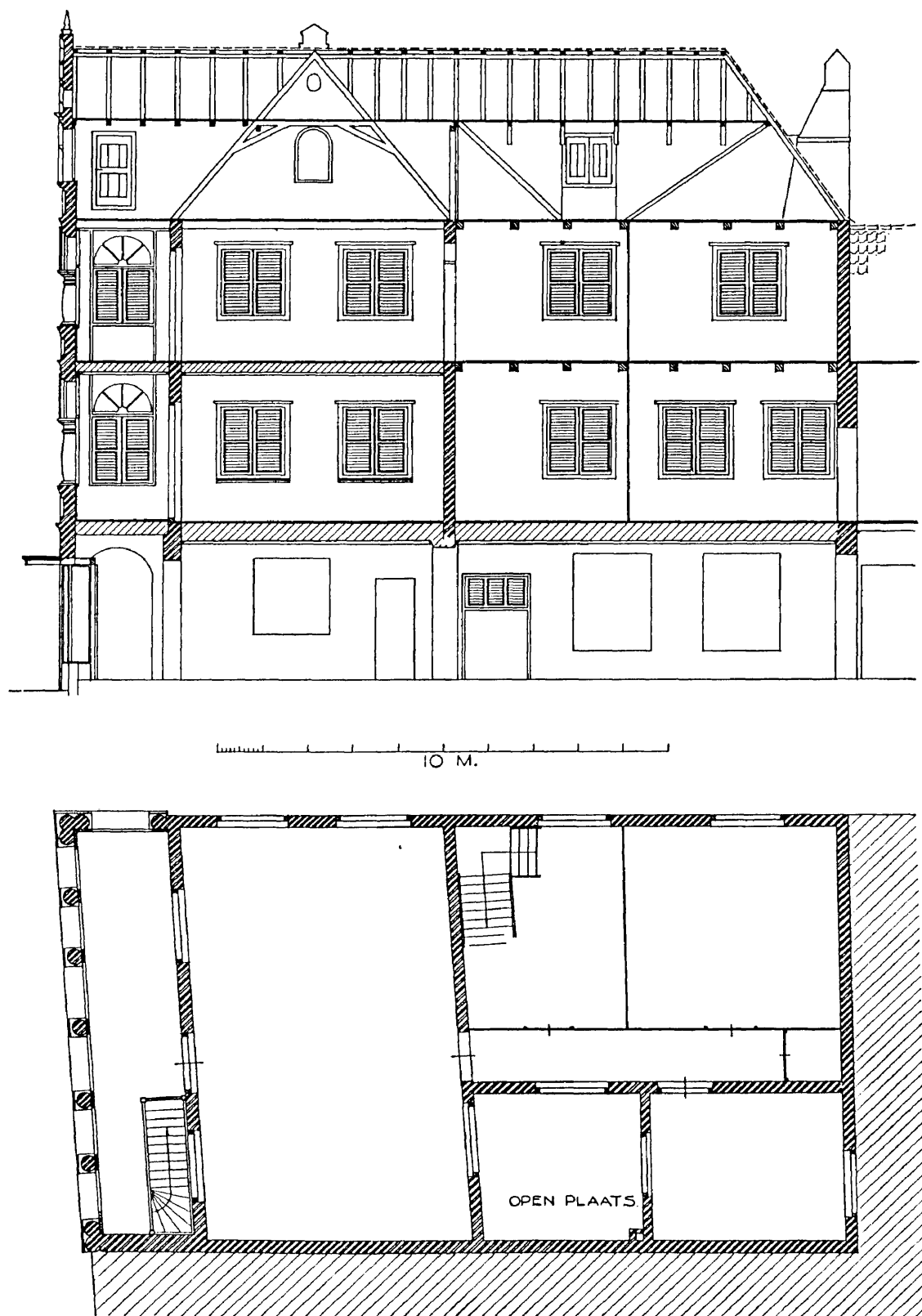


Figure 31. The House Profile and Plans at Breedstraat 20-22; Willemstad, Curacao (Ozinga 1959:171)

yellow brick with a stone foundation over a shallow basement (see Figure 27). Other ruins exist of a full two stores in stone while most buildings show only that the stone foundations held one floor of stone or brick. Comparison with the 1774 drawings of the Lower Town show these sketches to be plausible (see Figures 14 and 16). Many buildings in these appear to have the upper story built of wood. Site S1/ has provided evidence of the posts supporting the overhanging second story in the form of post holes six feet from and parallel to the closest wall, the area in between paved with cobblestones.

Courtyards surrounded by walls, shown in the 1774 (see Figures 14 and 16) and 1829 drawings (Figure 32) are supported by archaeological evidence. The wall with arched opening in the 1829 Falhberg drawing still exists in the area between the present day dive shop (the gabled building) and the Gin House patio (all new construction). Across the Bay Road the area #354 surrounded by walls on all four sides contain two small chimneyed structures which are probably ovens, if so they indicate that this area served as a courtyard at one time. The south wall of 333A is capped with mortar embedded with broken 18th century bottle fragments demonstrating the use of this wall as a boundary marker at some time. In front of structure 341 there is a low brick wall decoratively capped with bricks set diagonally at a circa 45 degree angle.

Artifactual analysis has produced little information relative to activity and usage of the Lower Town. The vast majority of artifacts found in this area appear to be from the collapse of the cliff edge and are in fact from the Upper Town. S1/ contained fill from the cliff collapse and some of the artifacts possibly date to the late 19th early 20th century residential occupation of this area. SE120/ was also covered with cliff collapse and SE309/ was recently filled in with the same type of soil material as part of the beautification project.

S19/ is the only excavated site whose artifacts reflect 18th century Lower Town activity. The relative large size of the ceramic fragments and intense concentration of artifacts all dating to the same period identify this deposit as a secondary-refuse deposit (Schiffer 1977:30). Although analysis of this deposit has not been completed, preliminary work has produced some useful data. Large quantities of faunal material ranging from pigs, cows, goats and chicken to fish mixed in with the other artifacts would seem to rule out the possibility that this deposit solely reflects general wastage from a warehouse. Conversely, large quantities of crystal glasses, creamware, pearlware and the tin-glazed plates and bowls would seem to rule out the possibility that this deposit results from a single household. The most-likely interpretation of this deposit would be that it resulted from an establishment with high

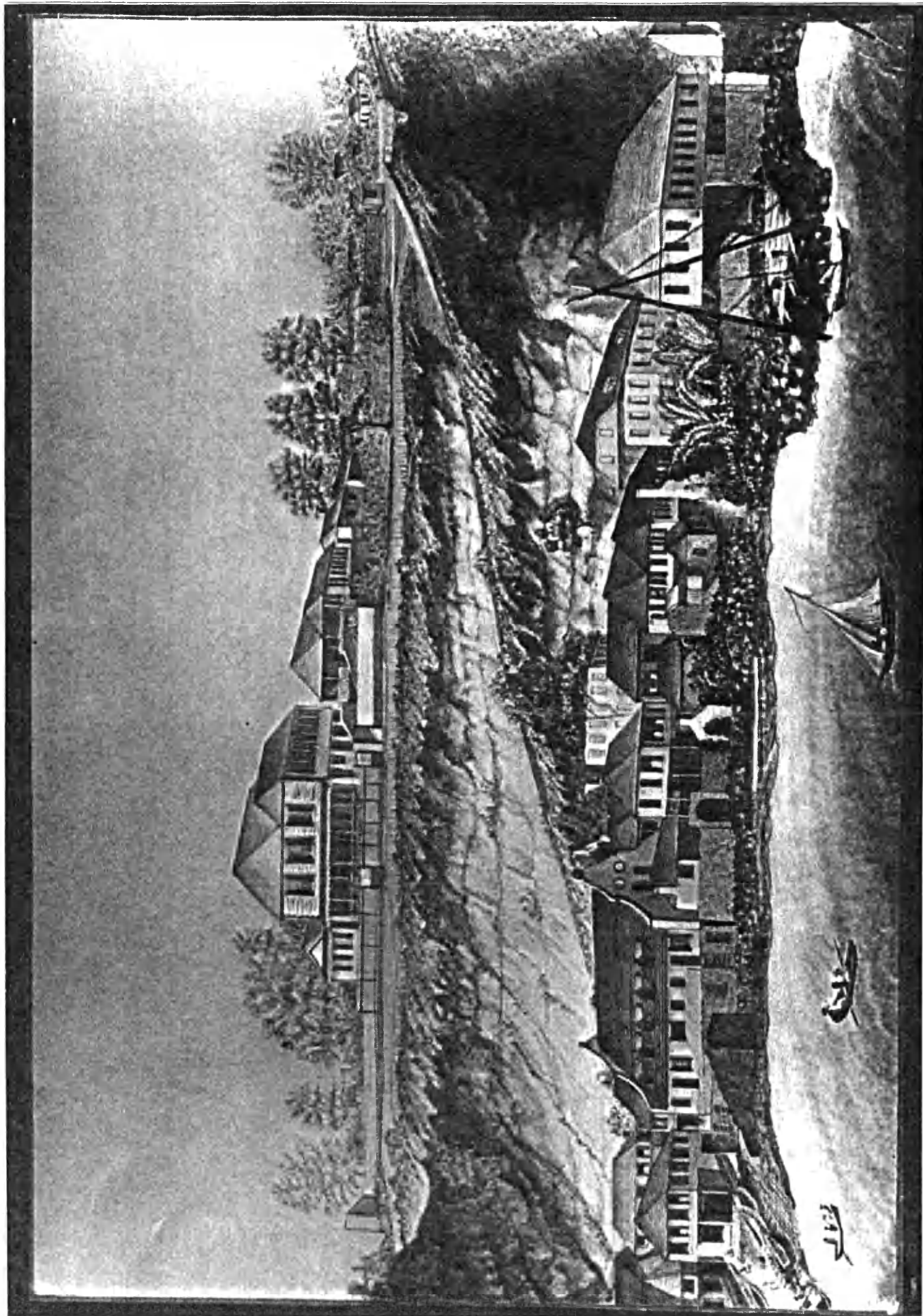


Figure 32. Drawing of the Central Lower Town, 1829 (Appendix B, #14)

breakage factors such as a tavern or inn or a combination of a multiple household, tavern and or warehouse all using the same inaccessible space between buildings as a refuse dump.

Dating the deposit at this point in its analysis reflects a general estimate. The inclusion of transfer-printed willow pattern pearlware would indicate a date later than 1792 (Noel Hume 1969:130). Only a few pieces of ceramics fall in the mixed category of the transition of creamware, pearlware to white-ware; and so the deposit dates to no later than 1815-1820. In the period between 1791 (coin) and 1815 (annularware and pearlware) the island changed hands from Dutch to French (1795-1801) to English (1801-1802) to Dutch (1801-1810) back again to English (1810-1816) only becoming Dutch again in 1816. Although the majority of ceramics are of British manufacture the assemblage in this deposit most likely dates to either the French or Dutch occupation as British occupation of Statia always appears to have squelched trade. The assemblage also reflects the international quality of goods available on the island ranging from English creamware and pearlware, Dutch tin-glazed plates, cups and bowls, French tin-glazed platters, to Chinese export. Locally-made unglazed, burnished red earthenware is similar to that still produced on Nevis.

That this assemblage is not unique on the island is reflected in the artifacts found everywhere in the soils on the island. This wide variety of ceramics from different nationalities, in its very diversity, identifies St. Eustatius material culture in the late 18th century.

APPENDIX B

HISTORICAL MAPS AND DRAWINGS

This appendix contains a brief analysis of each of the 18th and 19th century maps and drawings included in this paper.

1. "Plaan van St. Eustatius" (see Figure 11) - (1742) (The Hague)

- This map shows the battery at Tumbledown Dick Bay with a small building behind it.
- The next structure shown is the house of William Dunn (12) in between Interloppers Point and the New Fort (the land in question for the construction of the New village in 1738 could have been along this stretch of waterfront).
- "Nieuwe fort" enclosing a small building and situated on a bluff on the edge of the cliffs.
- A short distance to the south there is a path or road from the cliff leading off toward the Lower Town.
- At this path, the artist began his depiction of the Lower Town "Het Dorp beneden"; the drawings denoting buildings are symbolic and leaves to conjecture whether the Lower Town consisted of one line of buildings as drawn. No road is pictured here for the Lower Town. Two buildings are shown out of alignment with the rest; one adjacent to the Bay Path, and the second below the fort. The string of buildings extends south ending in the vicinity of present day Gallows Bay (Prospect?). The depiction of the Lower Town extends further N to S than the Upper Town.
- The Bay Path (not named in the map) curves up the cliff face and joins the main road through town to the north of and adjacent to the fort "Het Fort Oranje".
- One small building is shown on the edge of the cliff adjacent to the bay path. This is the only structure in the Upper Town (except for the fort) which occupies this seemingly "no man's zone".

- The Upper Town "Het bove Dorp" is depicted as one line of buildings on the east side of the main road. The most densely constructed area appears to have been across the road from the fort (east). The 2nd portion in density appears to have been to the south with the area to the north showing the least number of buildings. Only the area to the south shows an expansion of buildings off of the main road.
 - To the south of the Lower Town there is no construction until the cistern in the middle of Crooks Castle Gut (not a name on this map); further to the south, between this gut and Hellgat is the battery of Dolien with one small building.
 - Between the town and "De Rondeberg" (Round Hill [#D]) lies "De Oude Kerck" (the old church [#56]).
 - "Donckers Nwe Tempel" (new house) - this is the most complex depiction of a building on the island - is shown to the north of the center of town (#30). Southeast of the Upper Town is "Donckers Oude Tempel" (#60).
 - Company land is scattered over the island (#23) off Concordia Bay, near English quarter etc. and to the west of the southern portion of the Upper Town. The island commander "Jasp^r Ellis" (#22) also has many farm holdings.
2. "Platte Grond Van het Eyland St. Eustatius" (see Figure 21) (18th century) (The Hague) two very sketchy views of Statia, a plan and profile - the plan is the only one of the two which gives cultural information.
- Locating the battery at Tumbledown Dick Bay ("Tommelen Dyk")
 - "Fort Nassau" shown 2 lines of fortified wall, a battery line on top of the cliffs and a half of a rectangle at the foot of the cliffs (possible New Fort and Waterfort).
 - The Upper Town is described as "De Stadt" the city, surrounding on three sides "Fort Oranien".
 - To the south of the town is a separate designation "Nieuw Dorp" new village, adjacent to an unnamed battery (either Dolien [c. 1742] or Bouille (d. ?)). The designated area of the west coast of the island "deBay" could be the Lower Town beach.

3.A.

"Plan en Profil . . . Batterye Amsterdam PL:II" (Figure 33) (The Hague) (date unknown)

The lines of fortification of these two batteries are very similar to that in the previous map "Fort Nassau". The upper battery has 2 buildings and occurs at the top of the cliff. The legend claims "6 stukken a 13 [illegible]" and "6 mortier" and "2 houwiteers"; steps lead down to the back of the lower battery containing one larger building and "16 Stukken a 24 Caliber"; whether this ended on the beach or at the water can not be determined.

- 4 miscellaneous buildings are depicted - could be houses, warehouses/stores or buildings connected to this military entrenchment.

3.B.

"Plan en Profil . . . Batteryen op Bouille en Montplaisant PL:I" (see Figure 20) (The Hague) (date unknown)

Probably a proposed reconstruction of Bouille as "Battery Montplaisant" never seems to have been built. This drawing and the previous one are two of a set. This is the Crooks Castle gut and the circular figure in the middle marked "citerne" is the well still there; adjacent and to the north is the path leading up the gut and the path/road along the beach front is the continuation of the Lower Town road. Houses and/or warehouses/stores line the foot of the cliffs. This would be the southernmost boundary of the Lower Town as well as the site of the Crooks Castle ruins.

4.A.

"Asbelding van der Berg en de Baai des Eylands St. Eustatius..." (see Figure 16) Water color copies by Emaus (Emants?), (original A. Nelson) (The Hague) (1774).

View of Lower Town and cliff edge of Upper from south - artist on promontory known as Prospect.

- The gut on the north side of Prospect contains a path or "road" up the cliff.
- Lower Town area between the Bay Path (not designated) and Prospect highly congested with buildings.
- Central road visible; buildings generally at right angles to road and beach but some oriented parallel, roofs vary from hipped to vertical gables; only one buildings showing.

PLAN en PROFIL

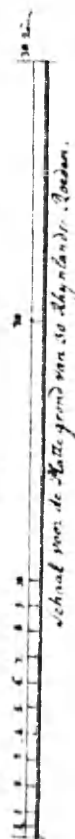
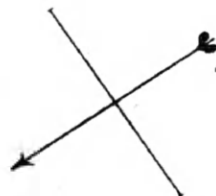
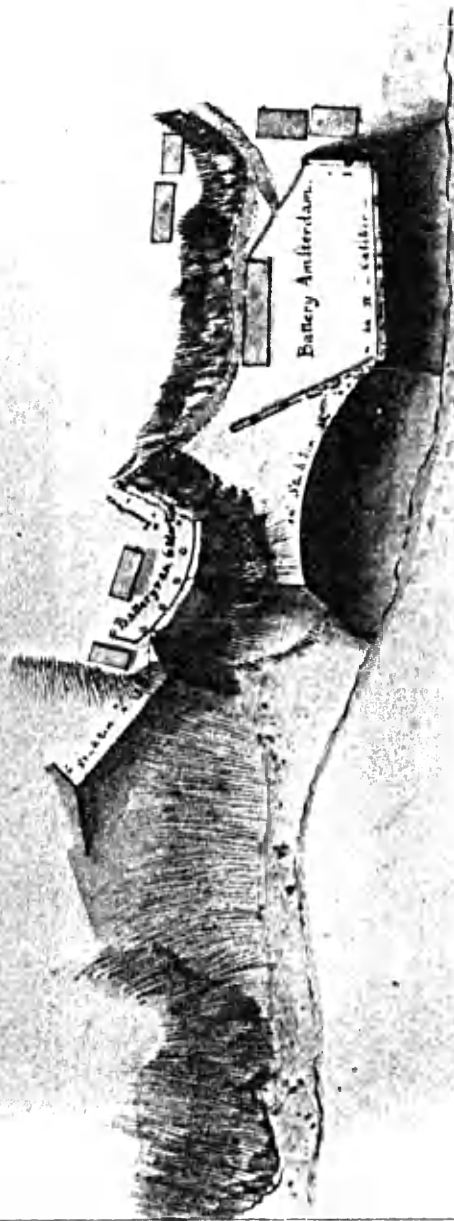
op wat wyse de gedemoileerde
Batterij Amsterdam diend her-
bouwd en Versterkt te worden.

ontworpen

In gevolge het bygelegd Plan van Defensie / Nr. 1 /
en na gedaene Inspectie en bevinding geconcentreerd

door

*L. H. Mollin jzr.
G. Ingenieur*



Profil der Batterij



Figure 33. Plan of the Battery Amsterdam, Circa 18th Century (Appendix B, #3A)

- Curved Dutch gables; dormers appear on some of the roofs, one definite chimney exists on a small building on the shore, this building appears to be buttressed on one side - possibly a kitchen. Some buildings have overhanging upper stories, one is shown supported by posts.
- Buildings are not altogether flush to the road and less so to the waterfront; in some places the road appears to be blocked and diverted around the buildings.
- A large open area is shown at the central landing place near the Waag and Bay Path with an extension into the water, possibly a jetty. Two other jetties are evident, the more massive one has a small square building on the end.
- Visible over the edge of Prospect is a 2nd landing area with small boats lacking masts pulled up on the beach.
- The shoreline appears to be sloped to the beach along the majority of the shore.
- Shown in the Upper Town are the Fort Oranje (#2), The Dutch Reformed Church (with tower [#1]), and the de Windt house (#3).

4.B.

"Asbelding van der Berg en de Baai des Eylands St. Eustatius..." (see Figure 14) Water color copies by Emaus (Emants?) (original A. Nelson) (The Hague) (1774).

View from North on top of cliff just south of battery (1774)

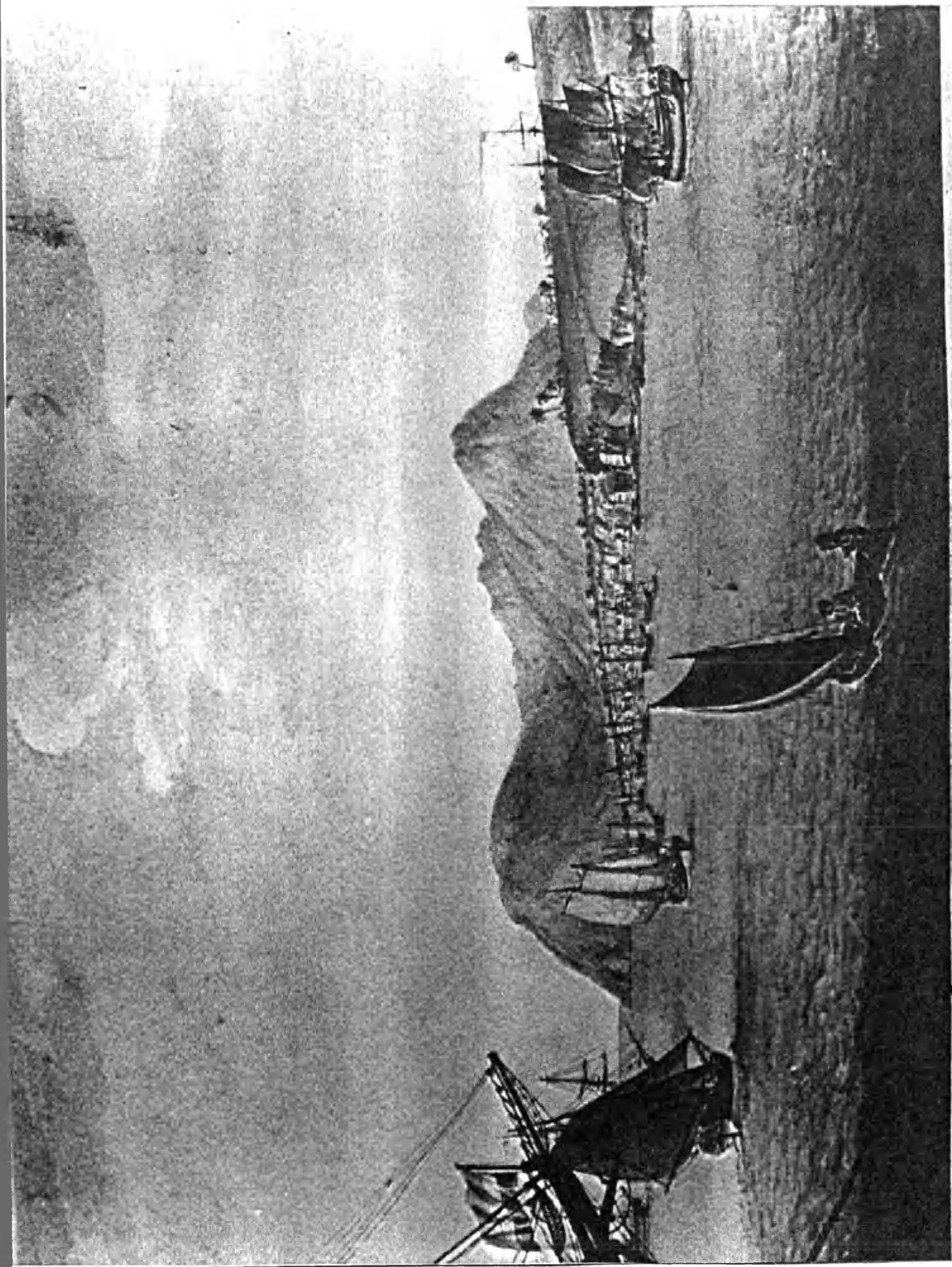
- The Waag identified as hipped roof, 2 story building in foreground in Lower Town; the Dutch gabled building is directly to the south and adjacent. This is probably the W.I.C. warehouse.

5. "Nieuwe Kaart van het Eyland St. Eustatius..." (Figure 34) Reiner Ottens (1775) copy of 1742 (Library of Congress).

Poor copy with some buildings and numbers misplaced; some property owners changed in list to side and many missing.

No new buildings added to map i.e. outdated.

6. "Part of St. Eustatius from the South East" (Figure 35) 1776 by Nicholas Pocock (Mariners Museum). Probably very true to life but lacking close view of Lower Town.



Part of St. Eustatius from the South East.

Figure 35. "Part of St. Eustatius from the Southeast", 1776 (Appendix B, #6)

Note: Possible sugar refinery on area to south of Gallows Bay.

7. "Gezigt van Het Eyland St. Eustatius" (see Figure 10) circa 1780 (The Hague)

- The Water Fort (17)
- Lower Town extending up path near Waterfort.
- The Waag and Bay Path and old landing place (7) de Waag en Landing-Plaat voor 't Oude Pade -- barrels are heaped up in the open area.
- The Nieuwe Padt (5) and Landing - Plaat voor 't Nieuwe Padt (8) the new path leads up to Prospect and the Donker House (10).
- The warehouses/stores/homes in the Lower Town are mainly drawn as individual buildings with only a few exceptions notable in the area under the new path.
- Buildings on the shore run from the waterfront in the north to Fort Chitehie (12); the last building on the beach to the south is called de Zuiker Raffinadary (13) the sugar refinery.
- On the cliffs above is a small group of buildings designated 't Nieuwe Dorp (11) the new village.
- A windmill (the only in the drawing) in the southern portion of the Upper Village is called Tayler Well (9).

8. "Plan De L'Isle De St. Eustache" (Figure 36) (1781) (Library of Congress)

This map is from the 1781 French Occupation and (#10) designates Jenkins Bay as the point where French forces landed when they took the island from the English.

- Battery and building at Tumbledown Dick Bay (11).
- Four buildings in Godet (Billy's) Gut.
- Waterfort not on map.
- Lower Town begins in this area and this map, unlike any other, shows the highest concentration of buildings in the area between water fort and the Bay Path - below Battery Bouedea (13); 2 rows with 2 buildings between these and the water.

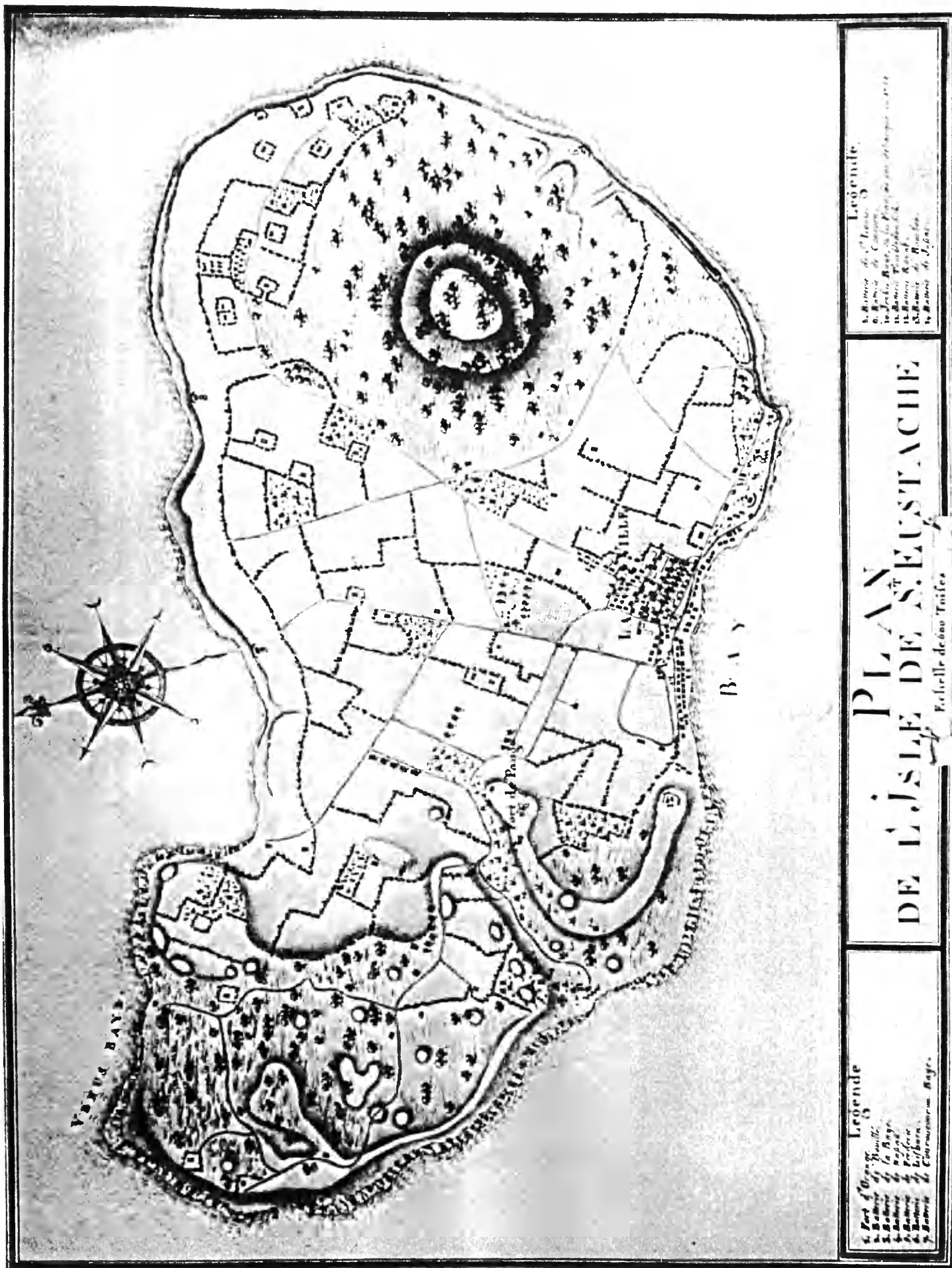


Figure 36. Plan of St. Eustatius, 1781 (Appendix B, #8)

- An area clear of buildings exist at the foot of the Bay Path and behind the Waag building.
 - Lower Town buildings continue around Gallows Bay but none are shown near Battery Bouille (2).
 - On top of the cliff just north of Bouille are 3 buildings, and one on the cliff edge and one on the road.
 - South of Bouille is Battery "de la Baye"? (3) and Battery de Nassu (4).
 - Further to the south lie Batterie Fredric (5) and Batterie de Lisburn (6).
9. View of St.Eustatius (no legend and no title) (see Figure 22) Library of Congress (1790)
- A line of housing has extended north of the Upper Town on the cliff edge.
 - The remains of Waterfort show at the north and the Lower Town continues from here ending at the point south of Gallows Bay; beyond this are several small buildings and then a large complex, possible the sugar refinery (2 towers and multiple arches decorate this structure).
 - Upper Town shows a battery to the north of Fort Orange and a very large building on Prospect which Hartog (1976:93) identifies as the Lutheran Church.
 - New Village shows a clustering of buildings.
10. "The Island of St. Eustatius corruptly St. Eustatia" (Figure 37) (Faden 1795) (Library of Congress).
- In many way similar to the 1781 French map (#8).
 - Tumbledown Dick battery and building.
 - Interlopers Cape.
 - Four buildings in Godet Gut.
 - As in (8) no Upper Town buildings in northern cliff area of town from Bourbon Battery north.
 - Building placement in Upper and Lower Town almost exactly that of (8).
11. " Plan Van het Fort Oraniem op het Eyland St. Eustatius." (Figure 38) (No Date) (The Hague)

THE ISLAND OF SEUSTATIUS corruptly SEUSTATHIA

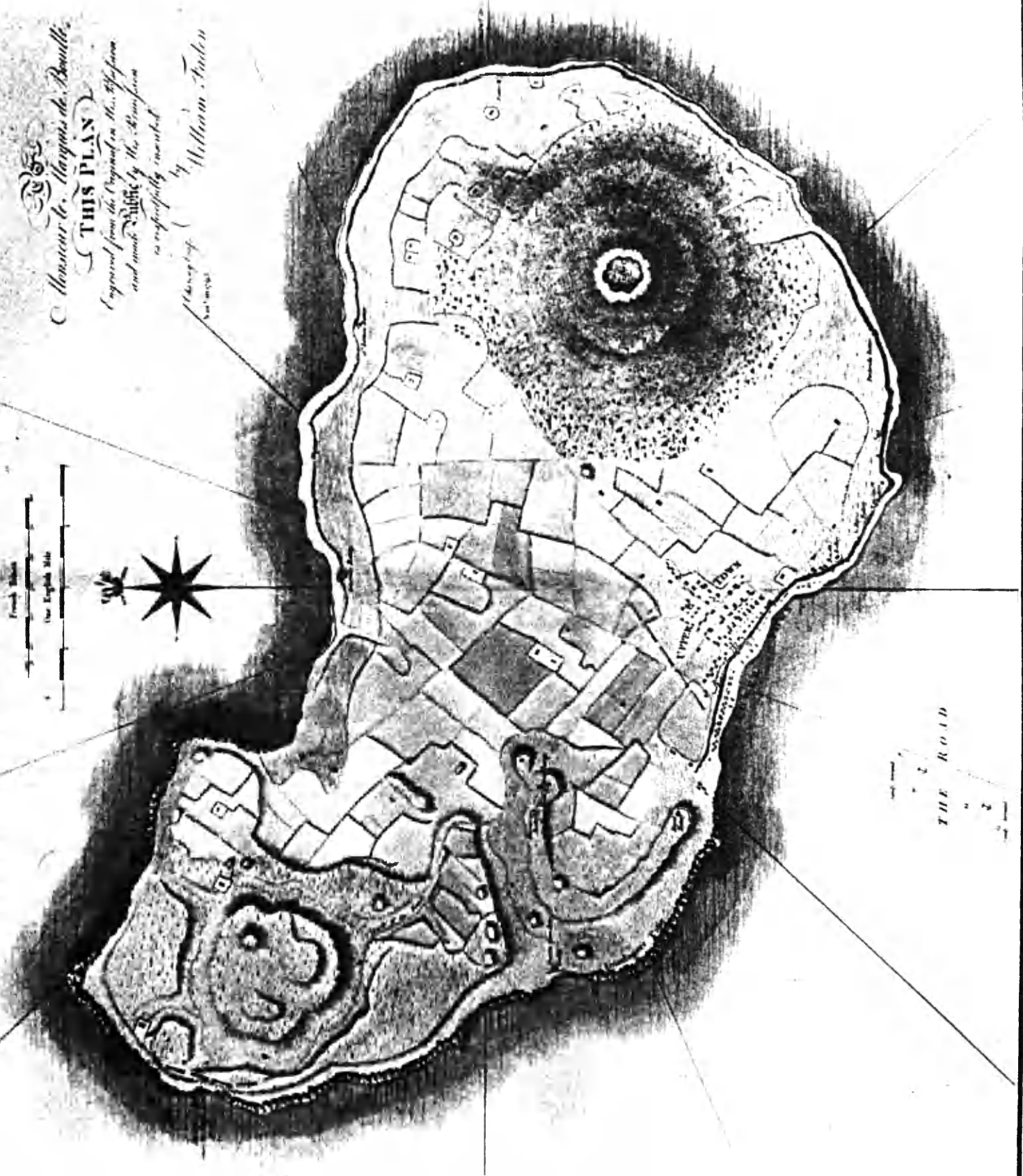


Figure 37. Plan of St. Eustatius, 1795 (Appendix B, #10)

Figure 38. Plan of Fort Oranje (Appendix B, #11)

A plan of Fort Oranje with legend describing building use.

- (H) "De Berg Waer hed Fort opis" (The Mountain where the Fort is).
- (I) "De Bay Welke med Patz en Woerhuysen bebauiotis" (The Bay which is beside the Path where the warehouses are built).

12. Plan van het Fort Orange op het Eyland St. Eustatius 1787 (Figure 39) (The Hague)

- (K) "Boovanstad op de Berg" (The Upper Town of the mountain); note specific placement of buildings and roads; (M) The Dutch Reformed Church.
- (L) The Lower Town on the bay; note specific placement of buildings

13. "Plan Figurative du Mole et Bassin dans la Rader de L'Isle de St. Eustache^S." (see Figure 4) Samuel Fahlbert (1828) (The Hague)

This is the plan for the mole (or jetty) which the Dutch attempted to build; it is not known how much was completed before it was destroyed by a storm.

- Also shown is the weighing house and the beginning of the Bay Path.
- Note: The kinks in the Bay Road.

14. (No legend) (see Figure 32) Watercolor of the central area of the Lower Town and the Bay Path by Samual Fahlberg (1829) (owned by Mrs. Morris Hill Merrit, Philadelphia, PA).

The artist stated that he drew this "sitting in a boat two cables (= about 500 metres or yards) from the shore" (Hartog 1976:46).

- Many of the buildings have overhanging upper floors.
- Rubble lined shore except at landing (to left).
- Wooden platform on top of beginning of mole.
- Building with curved Dutch gables and dormers (probably old West India Company warehouse).
- One building shows a half-hipped roof.
- The majority of buildings have hipped roofs.

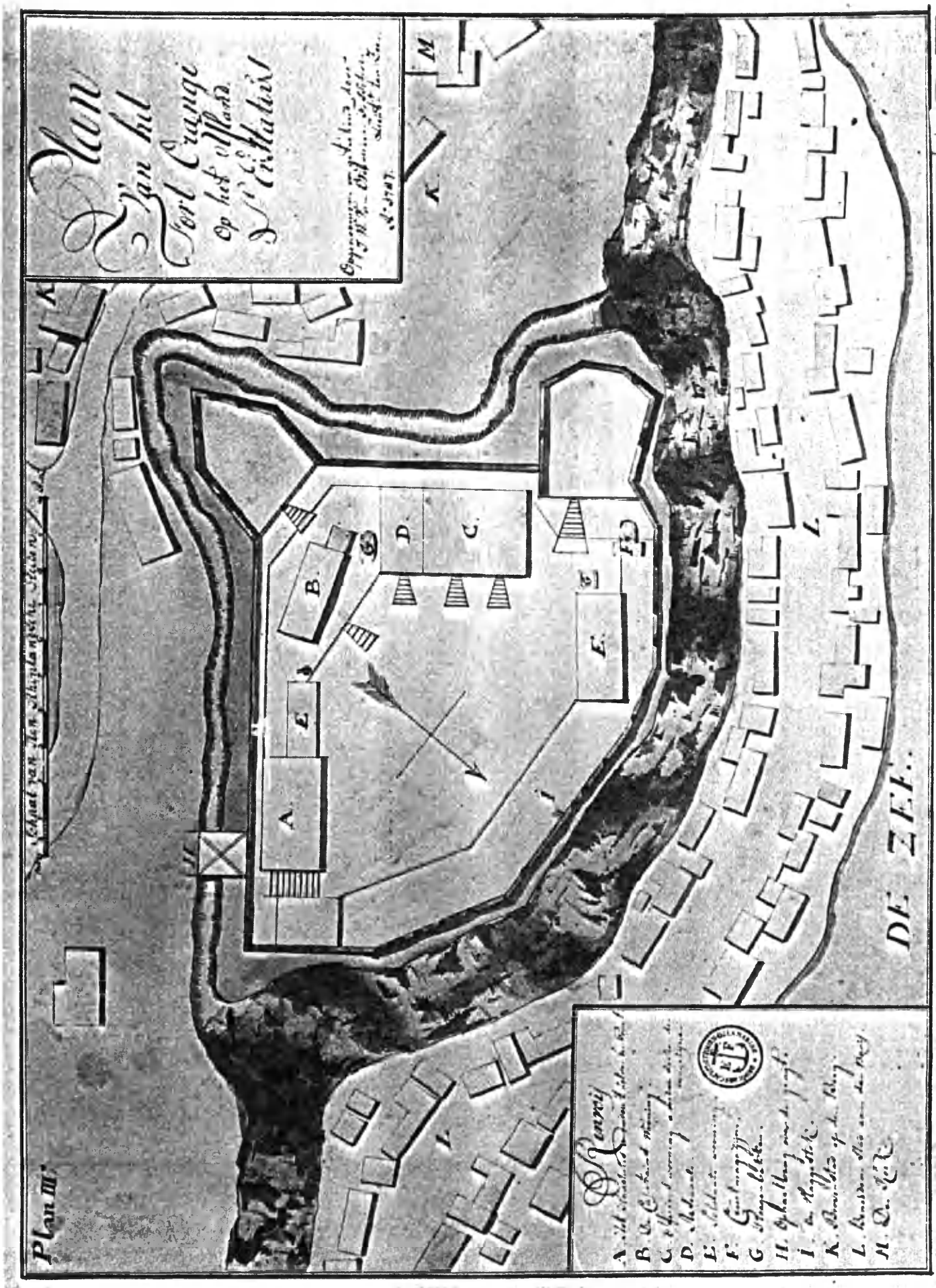


Figure 39. Plan of Fort Oranje, 1787 (Appendix B, #12)

- One hipped M-shaped roof.
- Chimneys lacking on larger buildings.
 - one on smaller lean to of the curved Dutch gabled building.
 - 1 near adjacent wall (possible kitchen)
 - 1 on domed building (possible kitchen).
- Walls on much of the waterfront but individually built with arched opening.
- Grey color of walls appear to indicate rough stone.
- Overhanging floor with no visible support must be wood.
- Brick and stone in buildings possible plastered; wooden house at the top of the cliff, board with white wash.
- Roofing material; from the dark color, probably wooden shingle.
- Road at top of cliff in front of house (this road has since been lost to cliff erosion).

15. "Carte topographique De L'Ile Saint Eustache" (see Figure 8) by Samuel Falsberg (1830) (The Hague)

- Shows mole (7).
- Lower Town road from north access to Crooks Castle Gut; four other access roads/paths.
- Dark square in center of L.T. indicates customs house/Waag. The darker wash in the center of town indicates government property as does the strip of land including Battery Concordia.
- The northern promontory of Crooks Gut would indicate some planned area with 2 cross streets (shading in this area same as Lower Town).
- Gallows bay does not exist on this map.
- At the northern end of Lower Town the shading and lot designation extend up the Bay Road as far as the battery (up the Bay Road up Van Tonningen Weg).

16. "KAART van het Eiland St. Eustatius" (Figure 40) A. H. Bisschop Grereliuk (government secretary of Statia (1839-1846) (The Hague)

- Shows anchorage and depth reading of Oranje Baa.
- "Waag gebouw" (6) (weighing house building).
- "Landingsplaats" (7) (landing place).
- "Beneden dorp" (8) (lower village).
- Symbol at the site of the new landing place.
- North road and bay path draw as roads
- Prospect and Crooks as paths
- Northern end has split to form 2 roads
- Batteries at N. end called Amsterdam and Rotterdam
- Two cemeteries (4), at site of present day school, and corner of De Ruyter and Van Nes streets.
- Excellent plan of roads especially in town; (M) designates government land in town and out.
- Market place at town square (10).

17. "Topographische Kaart van het Eiland Sint Eustatius." (Figure 41) (1847) (The Hague); copy of Map 16.

The same as Map 16 but with additions of historical information; plantations A-K produced sugar, molasses, rum and bay rum, these plus the cattle farms and government land produced yams (profit), cattle, cows, horses, mules, sheep

18. "Sint Eustatius in 1774." (Figures 42 and 43) (Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam) by A. Nelson.

These are the original from which the Maps 4A and 4B were drawn.

- Excellent watercolors with much more detail than the copies. In a number of the buildings it can be distinguished which were of wood and which were stone or brick.
- Overhanging second floors and balconies are prominent in the Lower Town.

19. "Vedvta Di S. Evstachio." (see Figure 7)

Figure 40. Plan of St. Eustatius, Circa 1840 (Appendix B, #16)

VAN HOUT BILASCO

SIXTIES

VOLGENS DE OPNAME VAN

A. H. PISSCHOP GREVELINK.

Abstract

Verklärung der gestammelten an Ketten

1. *Saxifraga oppositifolia* L.
2. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
3. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
4. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
5. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
6. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
7. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
8. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
9. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
10. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
11. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
12. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
13. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
14. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
15. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
16. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
17. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
18. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
19. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey
20. *Androsace caroliniana* (L.) Frey

De christen zijn uitgedrukt in Moeten

Abkürzung nach London am 20. April

2

100

Bandung der Plantagen zu Kambodja

- | | |
|----|----------|
| A | Exon 1 |
| B | Exon 2 |
| C | Exon 3 |
| D | Exon 4 |
| E | Exon 5 |
| F | Exon 6 |
| G | Exon 7 |
| H | Exon 8 |
| I | Exon 9 |
| J | Exon 10 |
| K | Exon 11 |
| L | Exon 12 |
| M | Exon 13 |
| N | Exon 14 |
| O | Exon 15 |
| P | Exon 16 |
| Q | Exon 17 |
| R | Exon 18 |
| S | Exon 19 |
| T | Exon 20 |
| U | Exon 21 |
| V | Exon 22 |
| W | Exon 23 |
| X | Exon 24 |
| Y | Exon 25 |
| Z | Exon 26 |
| AA | Exon 27 |
| AB | Exon 28 |
| AC | Exon 29 |
| AD | Exon 30 |
| AE | Exon 31 |
| AF | Exon 32 |
| AG | Exon 33 |
| AH | Exon 34 |
| AI | Exon 35 |
| AJ | Exon 36 |
| AK | Exon 37 |
| AL | Exon 38 |
| AM | Exon 39 |
| AN | Exon 40 |
| AO | Exon 41 |
| AP | Exon 42 |
| AQ | Exon 43 |
| AR | Exon 44 |
| AS | Exon 45 |
| AT | Exon 46 |
| AU | Exon 47 |
| AV | Exon 48 |
| AW | Exon 49 |
| AX | Exon 50 |
| AY | Exon 51 |
| AZ | Exon 52 |
| BA | Exon 53 |
| BB | Exon 54 |
| BC | Exon 55 |
| BD | Exon 56 |
| BE | Exon 57 |
| BF | Exon 58 |
| BG | Exon 59 |
| BH | Exon 60 |
| BI | Exon 61 |
| BJ | Exon 62 |
| BK | Exon 63 |
| BL | Exon 64 |
| BM | Exon 65 |
| BN | Exon 66 |
| BO | Exon 67 |
| BP | Exon 68 |
| BQ | Exon 69 |
| BR | Exon 70 |
| BS | Exon 71 |
| BT | Exon 72 |
| BU | Exon 73 |
| BV | Exon 74 |
| BW | Exon 75 |
| BX | Exon 76 |
| BY | Exon 77 |
| BZ | Exon 78 |
| CA | Exon 79 |
| CB | Exon 80 |
| CC | Exon 81 |
| CD | Exon 82 |
| CE | Exon 83 |
| CF | Exon 84 |
| CG | Exon 85 |
| CH | Exon 86 |
| CI | Exon 87 |
| CJ | Exon 88 |
| CK | Exon 89 |
| CL | Exon 90 |
| CM | Exon 91 |
| CN | Exon 92 |
| CO | Exon 93 |
| CP | Exon 94 |
| CQ | Exon 95 |
| CR | Exon 96 |
| CS | Exon 97 |
| CT | Exon 98 |
| CU | Exon 99 |
| CV | Exon 100 |
| CW | Exon 101 |
| CX | Exon 102 |
| CY | Exon 103 |
| CZ | Exon 104 |
| DA | Exon 105 |
| DB | Exon 106 |
| DC | Exon 107 |
| DD | Exon 108 |
| DE | Exon 109 |
| DF | Exon 110 |
| DG | Exon 111 |
| DH | Exon 112 |
| DI | Exon 113 |
| DJ | Exon 114 |
| DK | Exon 115 |
| DL | Exon 116 |
| DM | Exon 117 |
| DN | Exon 118 |
| DO | Exon 119 |
| DP | Exon 120 |
| DQ | Exon 121 |
| DR | Exon 122 |
| DS | Exon 123 |
| DT | Exon 124 |
| DU | Exon 125 |
| DV | Exon 126 |
| DW | Exon 127 |
| DX | Exon 128 |
| DY | Exon 129 |
| DZ | Exon 130 |
| EA | Exon 131 |
| EB | Exon 132 |
| EC | Exon 133 |
| ED | Exon 134 |
| EE | Exon 135 |
| EF | Exon 136 |
| EG | Exon 137 |
| EH | Exon 138 |
| EI | Exon 139 |
| EJ | Exon 140 |
| EK | Exon 141 |
| EL | Exon 142 |
| EM | Exon 143 |
| EN | Exon 144 |
| EO | Exon 145 |
| EP | Exon 146 |
| EQ | Exon 147 |
| ER | Exon 148 |
| ES | Exon 149 |
| ET | Exon 150 |
| EU | Exon 151 |
| EV | Exon 152 |
| EW | Exon 153 |
| EX | Exon 154 |
| EY | Exon 155 |
| EZ | Exon 156 |
| FA | Exon 157 |
| FB | Exon 158 |
| FC | Exon 159 |
| FD | Exon 160 |
| FE | Exon 161 |
| FF | Exon 162 |
| FG | |

[illegible]

St. Louis, Mo. Feb. 10, 1901.

WIND SPEED 17 KTS

Abkürzung nach London am 20. April

2

100

Diversaride van het veld S' EUSPATTIN'S

Handbook

10

U

1

Abstract

100

Figure 41. Plan of St. Eustatius, 1847 (Appendix B, #17)

Religions de Goualling

A. M. de Goualling Goualling

Scale: 1:100,000

Geographical position: 10° 15' N, 155° 15' E. The island is situated in the Pacific Ocean, north of the equator, and is one of the most fertile islands in the group. It is surrounded by a narrow strip of water, and the land is mostly covered by a dense forest of palm trees and other tropical plants. The climate is hot and humid, with a high degree of humidity. The population is small, and the island is mostly inhabited by a few families of Dutch and English descent. The island is a beautiful and fertile land, and it is a great place to visit for those who love the tropics.

Legend

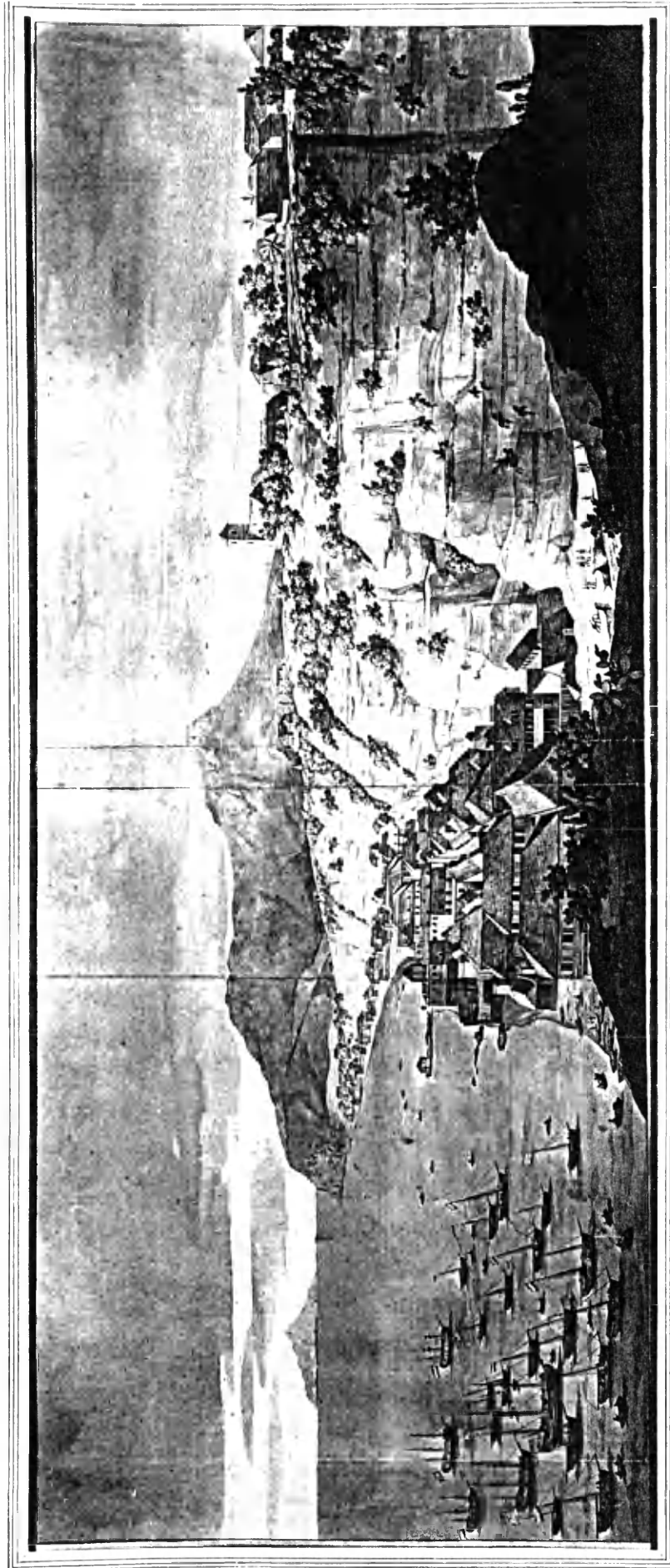
■	Water
■	Forest
■	Open land
■	Plantations
■	Swampy land
■	Barren land
■	High ground
■	Low ground
■	Coastal strip
■	Bay
■	Harbour
■	Fort
■	Church
■	House
■	Path
■	Boundary



- Legend
1. Harbour
 2. Church
 3. House
 4. Path
 5. Boundary
 6. Fort
 7. Swampy land
 8. Plantations
 9. Open land
 10. Forest
 11. Water

Geographical position: 10° 15' N, 155° 15' E. The island is situated in the Pacific Ocean, north of the equator, and is one of the most fertile islands in the group. It is surrounded by a narrow strip of water, and the land is mostly covered by a dense forest of palm trees and other tropical plants. The climate is hot and humid, with a high degree of humidity. The population is small, and the island is mostly inhabited by a few families of Dutch and English descent. The island is a beautiful and fertile land, and it is a great place to visit for those who love the tropics.

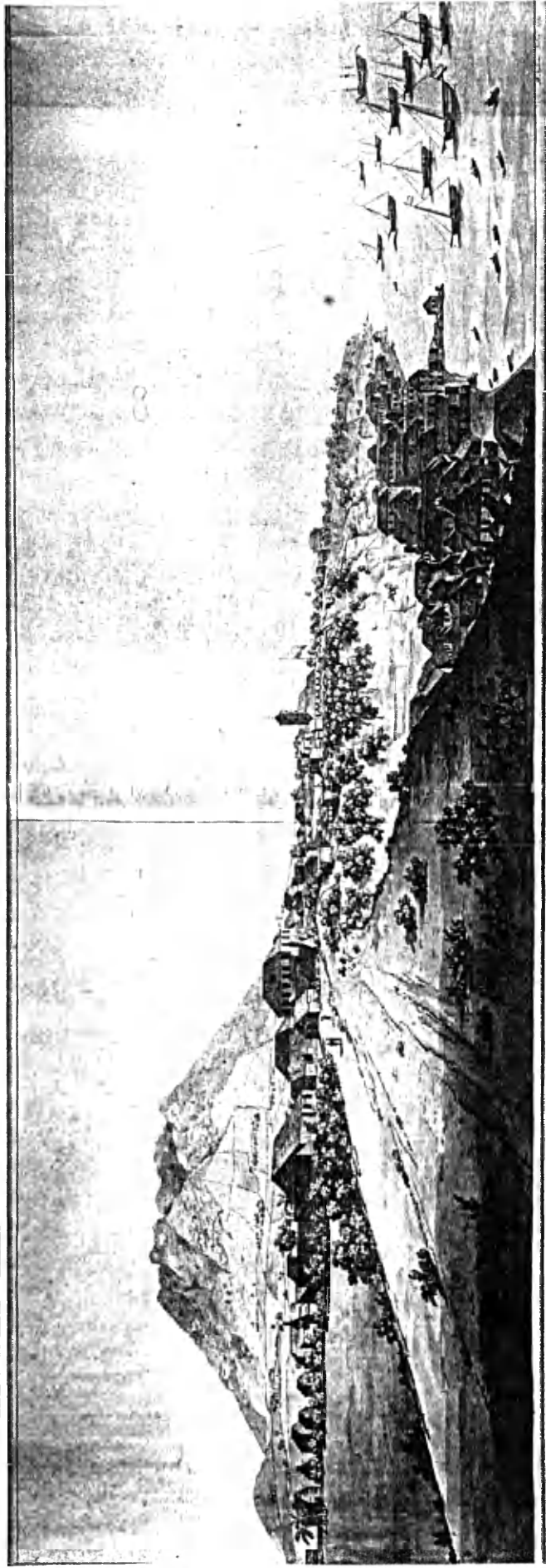




SINT EUSTATIUS IN 1774.

2. - Oostindiaansche en Oostindiaansche gebouwen van Sint Eustatius. De afbeelding is van de hand van de kunstenaar van de afbeelding.

Figure 42. Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns from the South, Prospect; 1774 (Appendix B, #18)



SINT EUSTATIUS IN 1774.

De teekening is naar een teekening van den heer J. van der Meer, die in 1774 te Sint Eustatius is geweest. De teekening is naar een teekening van den heer J. van der Meer, die in 1774 te Sint Eustatius is geweest.

Figure 43. Drawing of the Upper and Lower Towns from the North, 1774 (Appendix B, #18)

This Italian print was based on another drawing, owing any accuracy to the original. Hartog (1976:70) suggests a date of circa 1772.

- The customs house (4) and scale (10) are depicted to the right of the Lower Town.
- Three churches are represented:
 - The private Roman Catholic Chapel (5).
 - The Dutch Reformed Church (7).
 - "Chiesa Inglese" - English church, probably Anglican.

20. "Plan van Verdediging Tommelendijk." (Figure 44) Plan of the defenses of Tumbledown Dick (1740) (The Hague)

- This view of the battery at Tumbledown Dick Bay shows eight guns with carriages and platforms.
- The small one story guard house appears to have a thatched roof and shutters on the windows. The walls could be cane or upright boarding/timbers.
- On the beach below the battery is the "oude indigothiere" for processing indigo.

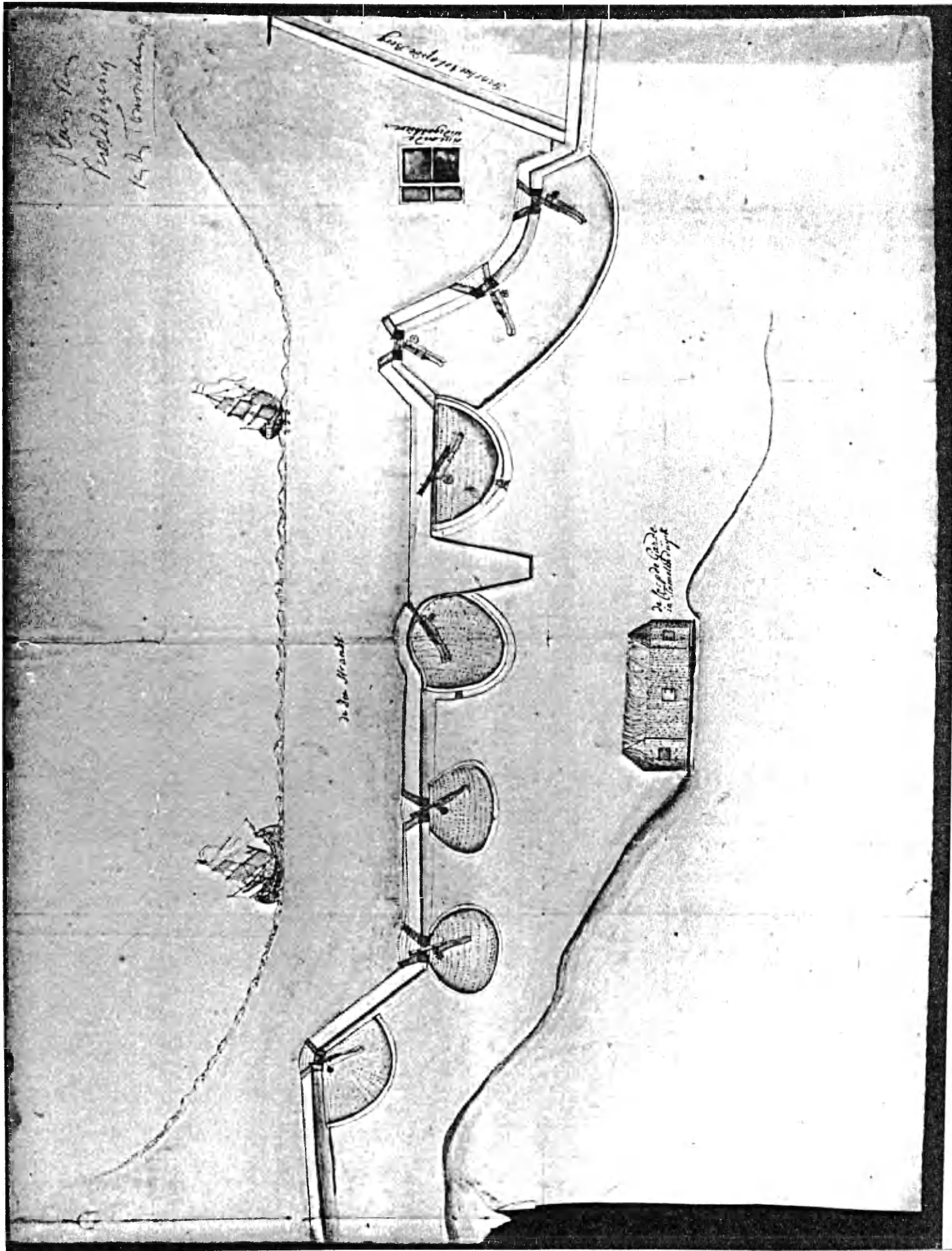


Figure 44. The Battery of Tumbledown Dick Bay, 1740 (Appendix B, #20)

APPENDIX C

Zimmerman letter to a friend in Holland
about life in St. Eustatius

(Translation Supplied by Franz S. Lampe)

The letter is printed in the second volume of the "West Indische Gids", 1919 II, pages 144-150, with an introduction by Dr. J. de Hullu, who was Archivist of the Algemeen Rijksarchief in the Hague. His brief introduction goes like this:

It is a surprise, and a welcome surprise, to find among the resolutions, reports and missives of an archive a document like the following letter that takes the thoughts of the reader from the sphere of the council chamber and the bureau to that of domestic and business life. To whom the letter is addressed can not be determined; of the writer himself, Zimmerman the elder (as he signs himself), one can get at least a bit of a picture from his own writing. We have in him, I think, a young man before us from mercantile circles, who was sent to St. Eustatius by one or another business house and who now took up his pen to tell one of his friends in the Fatherland what had happened to him in the four weeks that he had been there.

His first impressions of the land and the people, as it appears from his letter, were favorable. Indeed he found the heat burdensome and the mosquitoes a nuisance, but for the rest his new home pleased him greatly. I'm very lucky here, he wrote. What particularly struck him about St. Eustatius was the free and easy atmosphere that prevailed there, the liberal pace of life that made him always a welcome guest at the parties to which the inhabitants gave themselves up so lustily. From this it appeared that in a manner of speaking he didn't have eyes enough to look at all that was strange and note-worthy that the island had to offer. Nature, climate, the way of life of the people, especially of the colored and the negroes, all awoke his interest and made him take up his writing tools to sketch the variegated scene for

his friend. A lucky chance provided that his writing would not be lost. The unknown friend to whom it was addressed apparently considered it interesting enough that he provided a copy for the Pensionary Van de Spiegel, and the latter in turn found it too interesting not to give it a place among his papers, which, as is well known, have rested in the Algemeen Rijksarchief since 1895.

That Zimmerman's letter deserved the honor no one who reads it can deny, it provides an appendix to the history of St. Eustatius of a sort that is unrepresented especially in official documents, and throws light on just what official papers all too often leave in the dark.

Honored sir and valued friend:

I will not neglect my promise to send you this. Your Honor will have learned from the letter that I sent your honored father that we had a very speedy and prosperous passage. Thanks to God I enjoy the best of health, and hope to learn the same of you.

Once again, many thanks, my good friend, for the cakes that you provided for my trip, which spared me many dull moments, and I shall attempt to repay your kindness.

I will limit myself to giving you a short account of the of the situation of this island and of the way of life there. The island is about 2 hours long and a good mile across. All around, the sea washes against the rocky mountain, which is quite high and I should guess sticks up about half an hours above the sea. The so-called Punt or Punch Bowl is the highest and is quite hollow inside, for which reason it was a volcano. One morning I rode out there with my friends and went down to the bottom-or rather, clambered down through the stillness. In this deep cavern it is twilight and very little of the ground down there is touched by the sun except between 12 and 2 o'clock. In this hollow it is pretty cool. Nature reaches her highest peak of productivity there. Growing wild in this hole are grapes of excellent flavor, oval in shape, resembling little plums. You can find watermelons there of 20 to 30 pounds, rose-colored inside, shading toward the heart to light silver-white, and at 2/3 of the way speckled with black seeds, making a lovely appearance when you cut the melon open. Also ordinary melons of exceptionally fine flavor, being much riper than any that I've ever had in Italy. Also there is the mamaeij, as large as an ordinary melon and tasting like the persian melon of Europe. Coconuts are plentiful; I've seen some that I'd guess weighed 18 pounds. The milk of this fruit is very delicious and is cool in the hot sun. Also cherries, a wonderful fruit, on the top of which a nut grows, but I can't really describe it. Pomegranates are found in abundance, papayas, oranges, lemons, limes, medlars and a lot of other fruits that I don't know. One can find wild coffee there, sugar cane,

cotton, and wild pod-peas. Also a kind of string beans; 4 or 5 sorts of pepper, of which one kind is frightfully strong, much more so than the so-called Spanish pepper. I saw fig trees there too, but they don't have the same fruit that I've eaten in Italy. On this island the pineapples are the best of the entire West Indies. I've seen them of 10 or 12 pounds' weight, and very ripe. For 5 or 6 Dutch stivers you can buy one from the negroes, and they cost them, so to speak, only the cutting.

There are many sugar plantations here. I visited a good number of them; most of the friends to whom I had been recommended are plantation owners, through whom I had the good fortune to examine everything minutely, which was very interesting for an inquiring sort of person.

The mountain is quite high and [indecipherable] trees grow naturally, but some are planted, such as tamarind, coconut and banana. The terribly hot sun burns everything up. Around the houses lemon and orange trees are planted, more or less protected from the sun.

The houses are mostly of a single story with a roof of 8 or 9 feet; they are built entirely of wood and the roofs are made of little planks called shingles. There are a few 2-story houses such as I show you in an accompanying sketch (see Figure 9). They are masonry from below-ground to a height of 2 or 3 feet and wood above that and have a gallery on the first floor, as in #1; #2 a wooden wainscoting like the exterior work. This gallery is covered with the second #3 that resembles the substructure. The roof is of wooden shingles, and when you are on the second floor you look through these shingles as in the game at the fair. Respectable folks have their houses hung inside with English paper, and most furnishings consist of wood chairs from England or North America, besides large looking-glasses, and under these mirrors mahogany tables with whole glass-shops on them, seeming to be all of the most delicate crystal that I've ever seen, oversized covered beakers that could hold 6 bottles, and all handsomely polished, ditto other glassware, chandeliers, girandolles, etc. Tables, buffets, commodes, and such are here of massive mahogany.

Most houses lack window panes, having at most summer-blinds, very neatly made of wood. The houses have windows and doors on all sides, so that it's quite cool in the mornings and evenings. In the sketch you'll note the floor plan of most houses, consisting usually of 3 rooms. The central room stands open for all to come in; the two side rooms are bedchambers and private rooms. People usually sleep in hammocks that are hung up at night. I had to sleep in one, and found it much better than a bed; also one is less plagued by insects, something that I had feared. One day, lying on my mattress, I noticed a great lizard and two frightful thousand-leggers. If you are bitten by one you get a fever and *la ceremonie est faite*. The cockroach likes dirty linen and will chew everything to bits. If I put my coat away in the evening I'll put in on whole again in the morning. Since that time when I had that visitation

on my mattress, I slept in the hammock. Then they have here the plague of the mosquito and the gnat. That's damned well the greatest plague that a European can have. You can sleep in a roomful of creoles and they'll leave the Creoles alone and fall upon the hapless European in swarms. Sometimes it looked as if I had the measles.

It's as horribly hot here as it can possibly be, and if it weren't for the daily east wind I don't believe I could live long. For instance, I have to change my linen 4 times a day and my other clothes twice a day. Sometimes the sweat runs in streams down my hands and face. I have one comfort; I've been told that once I've been sweated out it's over. In the four weeks that I've been here I've become very thin and have become half Creole in color. I rather like it. I don't know myself any more.

The people here are all very good and liberal. They drop in on their friends freely and always find quantities of drink. One takes what one will and either goes away or says "I'll stay and eat." This is always taken well. When parties are given they are always more brilliant than in Europe. They think nothing of a turtle worth 3 or 4 johannesses, and other things in proportion. Madeira wine is drunk here like water. You'll find here the best European wines in all cellars. You can drink terribly here, and sometimes I think well of that. Consequently I take the precaution of drinking a lot of water with my wine, which the doctors say is prudent, and I take lots of fruit, particularly in the morning.

At 4 o'clock each day I go with my friends for a horseback ride making a tour of 2 or 3 hours, and torment the planters who live in the high land. About 7 we usually come back to dine or else we stay with one or another friend. After that, from 8 o'clock to 1 every one goes about his business and I go from the mountain to the Bay, where all the warehouses are-about 600, I should think. This makes a small city in itself. Down there it's a good three times as hot as up on the mountain; the breeze being cut off by the mountain it is blazing hot. The roadstead is always full of Spanish, American, French and English barks that come and go every day and with whom we do business; the Bay is Little Amsterdam. I am quite fortunate to be able to speak with all these nations. The local language of the natives, mulattos and negroes, is English; you hardly hear anything else. If one speaks Dutch to a lady she either doesn't answer or if she feels like it she will respond in English. So I'm beginning to be quite an Englishman and speak no Dutch except only with Lans, who knows little or no English.

About 1 o'clock some friend will send me a riding horse and I go up the mountain with it and stop here or there to eat. I'm always invited to 3 or 4 places. Little is accomplished in the afternoon. About 6 o'clock, or when it is dark, people go to look up friends and stay to be sociable or retire about 8 or 9 o'clock, and by 10 or 11 every one is at rest.

They hold many dances here. Recently I was invited to a ball, where I found 64 ladies, all brilliantly dressed. The women here are not beautiful, but are good-hearted, which is the most important thing. They all ride horses or have themselves carried in a chair by two negroes (I've never seen one on foot).

Good friend, I would so like to see you here once! What you would see in this swarthy society! Most of them go about stark naked, men and women, and live together like animals. I reckon 20 negroes to one white. They best that race here like the stockfish in Europe; they knock them and hit them all day long. At first I felt great compassion for the poor slaves, but I have found, alas, that as soon as they find that you spare them you can't get anything out of them and they think you're crazy. Thank goodness I have a fine boy who serves me industriously and has a good heart, so I don't have to be a brute. I have promised him that I'd buy him and take him to Europe when perhaps I'll go back there in 5 or 6 years. When I promised him that, he fell on his knees and embraced me and begged me to do that, adding that he'd go to his death for me. At night he sleeps on the ground on a Spanish mat beneath my hammock. I found that hard, but I see that he is accustomed to nothing else and knows no better.

There are many mulattos here. Many of the women have been kept by Europeans as mistresses. Those are well dressed, commonly in white lawn with linen edging of various colors and on their heads extra fine English beaver hats, and they have their slaves following behind with parasols. Among these mulatto are some very fine and well made women. It is unfortunate that the color is not lighter, it being light brown, and they all have long pitch-black hair and black eyes and ivory-white teeth. They were no ornaments but gold. I had a lot of gold jewelry which I sold at a profit of 100 to 150%.

Nothing in this part of the world has astonished me so much as all the little children. You seldom or never hear them screaming or yelling. By the time they're three months old they're creeping around the floor and playing with every one just as if they were 2 or 3 years old. Morning and evening they are put in a tub of cold water, and as soon as they're in it they laugh and do all manner of childish play with any one who caresses them.

From St. Kitts--I mean St. Christopher--vegetables are brought in daily; Saba provides excellent veal and mutton; St. Maarten can be seen in clear weather quite well, and provisions come from there too every day. In a word, they have here all necessary food in abundance, and quite cheap. Bread is better on this island than in Europe; it is baked from good rich American grain. A 6-stiver loaf weights the same as a 2-stiver loaf in Europe. There is excellent fish here which is a pleasure to behold, blood-red and swimming about in the water like goldfish; they are called "hein". I have seen fish of blue and silver that could be mistaken for

enamel ware. Lobsters here are four times as large as in Europe, but not so tender and delicious.

Potatoes come from the English islands and are much better than in Europe and are yellow as egg yolks and mealy. Lettuce is not of the best, not at all tender, but indeed we have plenty of other things to make up for the lettuce.

The sheep are quite like roebucks, very high on the feet and long-necked, with little or no wool, and deer-colored, very attractive to see. Goats are here in plenty. Cows and calves there are, but they are scarcely edible, having little or nothing to eat but fruits and rubbish, but beef and veal come from the islands.

There is no wildlife on the island, and few birds. I've seen a kind of small bird that is blood red and one that is light green with gold highlights. Up above in the thickets are snakes and lizards but no four-footed animals.

If the negroes can steal a fat dog from the whites they don't let it go, and regale themselves with it. On each plantation there is usually a village of 30 to 40 little huts, as in sketch #4, where the poor rascals live.

Day before yesterday the captain-commandant came to fetch me and asked if I would like to see a negro company and how they amused themselves. I was soon ready and went thence with the group. I don't know that I've ever laughed so much. It was a negro ballet. I wish you could have seen what wondrous and bizarre figures these gentlemen made. They were quite honored with our company and showed us all submission and friendship. They were drinking their punch and grog, which the leader offered us and we accepted. Their music consisted of 2 tambourines, 2 vocalists and one piece of old iron that was beaten with a tenpin, and then a violinist who had probably never played before. Presently the harmony of this difficult music affected me painfully in the ears. There were some mulatto women there in that illustrious company, most of them doing English contra-dances. We danced 2 or 3 dances with them, and at the end had a black musician taken out of the place, who performed the music passably. After we brave ones were worn out we left the company and they thanked us greatly for the honor that we had done them.

Every day I see new things here. Little or no sickness is known here. As soon as some one is sick he is either better or dead in 3 or 4 days; everything goes expeditiously here. It is so with burying; dead in the evening; buried the next day. The sorrow for a deceased friend is washed away with Madeira wine. Remarkable customs! There is a church here but no minister!

About 2 weeks before my arrival there was a terrible cloudburst here. Part of the mountain was washed away and the old road to the top was entirely ruined. Damage at the Bay was reckoned at a million guilders. Perhaps Your Honor read about it in the papers. It can rain unbelievably here. I once thought I was going to be swept away, house and all, and it never let up, but the burning hot sun dried up the water that a quarter of an hour previously had been running

in rivers. It can thunder mighty hard here too, terrifying to hear, but people are used to it because they hear it every day.

I shall now bring this to a close, hoping that your Honor can make out my writing. I have written somewhat in haste, and will simply add that I am very lucky and am loved by every one and am everywhere welcome, which is a great satisfaction for me and makes me content with everything.

I commend myself to Your Honor's dear friendship and beseech you not to forget to write to me now and then--such as what's new in Europe--tell me that, please.

I am, respectfully,

Zimmerman the elder

St. Eustatius 10 July 1792.

NOTES

1. The island of St. Eustatius is one of three in the Dutch Windward Islands, approximately 220 miles east of Puerto Rico. St. Eustatius is also commonly known as Statia and its inhabitants refer to themselves as Statians.
2. This concept of boundaries as mechanisms in cultural contact is taken from Broom et al. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation" (1953).
3. The island of St. Maarten was settled at the same time by French and Dutch and the island was divided into the two separate colonies.
4. The sugar from Brazil had been the main supply for Europe throughout the first half of the 17th century and this wealth and profit is what lead the Dutch to conquer it (Parry 1961:130).
5. In Virginia see Pagan 1982:486.
6. Although the Dutch traded in cash and bills of exchange on banks in Amsterdam (Barbour 1950:94), the primary means of exchange appears to have settled on sugar. In 1651 the Dutch rates in Barbados were 1 penny equaled 1 lb. of sugar. Some of the exchange rates are as follows:

broad and brimmed white or black hats =
120 lb. sugar, 140 and some (hats) 160 lbs.
1 lb. brown thread - 36 lbs. sugar
1 pair thread stockings = 40 lbs. sugar
1 pair mens shoes = 16 lbs. sugar
1 pair new fashioned shoes = 25 to 30 lbs. sugar
an Anchor* of Brandewyn = 300 lbs. sugar
tufted Holland = 16-20 lbs. sugar
fabric 1 yd. good whited osenbridge linen = 6-7
lbs. sugar
Holland (of 12 p. if fine) = 12-14 lbs.
per yard
pins = "at great rates and much desired" (Augier
1962:33)

*"anchor", anker = 30 to 40 liters

7. Perhaps these had been planters hoping to maintain their farms.

8. Although much of the description of Statia appears to have been copied from Davies' History of the Caribby-Islands, published in 1666 (which was originally by the Frenchman DeRocheft, 1658), it is somewhat updated (North American and West Indian Gazetteer 1778).
9. St. Thomas a Danish island, neutral also, which saw a rise in her trade with American, Spanish and British vessels in 1792, was also held by the British in 1801-1802. Her trade decreased greatly under this occupation but resumed once she was returned to Danish rule. St. Thomas reportedly played host again to German, Danish, English, French, Spanish, Mediterranean, American and, presumable, Dutch vessels (Knox 1852:100-102).
10. The year 1863 marks the abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies and 1,138 slaves were freed on Statia (Hartog 1976:53). Slave trade was forbidden in 1784 - the last slaver called on Statia in 1793, (Hartog 1976:50). Farming had continued to this time on the island but lack of labor after emancipation led to its demise. The island's population continued to drop: in 1884, 1,600 (50 whites); in 1916, 1,432 (Hartog 1976:127).
11. The population totaled 606, half of which were slaves (Hartog 1976:34). Hartog also states that there frequently was no money to buy shoes and that property values were depressed enough to encourage immigrants.
12. Of all the merchants on Statia with Burgher status only 19 signed this petition requesting higher taxes and duties to be levied against all islands doing trade there (Emmanuel 1970:522).
13. Many people besides the Jews also left the island to take refuge on Curacao (Emmanuel 1970:519).
14. This use of brutality as motivation for slave labor and for "maintaining respect" was of course part of the process of dehumanization. Schaw voiced similar views and this was obviously a well-known justification offered to (and repeated by) newly arrived Europeans, by their New World hosts (Schaw 172, 128).
15. Schaw also noted that slaves on other islands would sell their produce in the market places (Schaw 1939:88, 107, 108).
16. A more likely explanation would be that the path was used to unload slave ships in this area, or perhaps it was just a comment on the precariousness and insubstantial nature of this path.

17. The isolation of this area is attested to by the existence of a lepers colony there in the late 19th, early 20th centuries (Lampe: personal communication).
18. This same three room pattern appears to be a basic Dutch colonial rural style although in Statia it occurs in the urban, Upper Town setting. On Statia a standing example of the one story type is the 18th c. house today holding the St. Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum. In Curacao, many of the 18th century manor houses are based on the three room plan although most are surrounded by a one story veranda (Ozinga 1959:204, 205, 223, 231, 233). This house plan also occurred in South Africa's Cape Province Dutch-period manor homes (Colonial Homes 1984, 10.5:90).
19. Another feature found in Statia's warehouse ruins is the apparent lack of concern over strict 90 degree right angles in the construction of the building walls. This is most readily apparent in buildings #347A-C (Appendix A). Evidence for this as a Dutch urban adjustment exists in Amsterdam warehouses as well as several inner city houses in Curacao (Ozinga 1959:160, 171).
20. The extinction of the white Dutch population is more a result of economic disruption, beginning with the French occupation of the island from 1795-1801 and the heavy taxation which destroyed Statia as a trading center. The merchants and traders left the island for other free ports such as St. Thomas. The second blow to economic viability was a result of the emancipation of the slaves in the mid 19th century effectively killing agriculture as a major financial livelihood. Migration became the standard route for employment (Hartog 1976:125-136; Crane 1971).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, Gardner W.
1962 A Naval History of the American Revolution. Vols
1 & 2. New York, Russel & Russel.
- Armytage, Frances
1953 The Free Port System in the British West Indies.
New York. Longmans, Green and Co.
- Attema, Ypie
1976 St. Eustatius: A short history of the island and
its monuments. Holland, De Walburg Pers Zutphen.
- Augier, F. R. and Shirley C. Gordon (Compiled by)
1962 Sources of West Indian History. London.
Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd.
- Augier, F. R., S. C. Gordon and M. Reckord
1964 The Making of the West Indies. London, Longmans,
Green and Co., Ltd.
- Ballagh, James Curtis
1914 The Letters of Richard Henry Lee. Vols. I & II.
New York, MacMillian Company.
- Barbour, Violet
1950 Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth
Century. Baltimore. John Hopkins Press.
- Beals, Ralph L. and Harry Hoijer
1971 An Introduction to Anthropology. New York, The
MacMillian Co.
- Bee, Robert L.
1974 Patterns and Processes: An Introduction to
Anthropological Strategies for the Study of
Sociocultural Change. New York, The Free Press.
- Belmonte, Benjamin Elie Coloco
1855 Over de hervorming van het regeringss. in
Nederlandsch West-Indie. Micro Card by
Louisville, KY. Lost Cause Press, 1969. Blome,
Richard
- 1687 The Present State of His Majestys Isles and
Territories in America. . . London.

- Bridenbaugh, Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh
1972 No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean 1624-1690. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Broom, Leonard, B. J. Siegel, E. Z. Vogt and J. B. Watson
1953 Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation. The Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation. In Beyond the Frontier: Social Processes and Culture Change. Edited by Bohannon P. and F. Plog, New York Natural History Press, 1967, pp. 255-286.
- Buisseret, David
1980 Historic Architecture of the Caribbean. Fakenham Norfolk, England, Heinemann.
- "Cape Dutch Homes". Colonial Homes Vol. 10, No. 5, (1984):86-91, 168-169.
- Caron, Aimery and Arnold R. Highfield (Ed.)
1978 Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre on the French in St. Croix and the Virgin Islands: A Translation with Introduction and Notes. Occasional Paper No. 4. Bureau of Libraries, Museums and Archaeological Services, Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs. College of the Virgin Islands.
- Clark, William Bell (Ed.)
1964- Naval Documents of the American Revolution (8
79 vols.). Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Coggins, Jack
1969 Ships and Seamen of the American Revolution. Harrisonburg, Pa. Stackpole Books.
- Crane, Julia G.
1971 Educated to Emigrate: The Social Organization of Saba. Assen, The Netherlands, Royal VanGorcum Ltd.
- Craven, Wesley Frane
1968 The Colonies in Transition: 1660-1713. New York, Harper & Row.
- Crouse, Nellis M.
1943 The French Struggle for the West Indies 1665-1713. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Davies, D. W.
1961 A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade. The Hague. Martins Nijhoff.
- Davies, John
1966 History of the Caribby-Islands. London 1666.

The Dean Papers. Connecticut Historical Society Collec-
1920 tions. Hartford.

Emmanuel, Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel
1970 A History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles,
Vol. I & II. Cincinnati. American Jewish
Archives.

The Fitch Papers, Vol. XVIII. Connecticut Historical
Society 1920 Collections, Hartford

Force, Peter and M. St. Clair
1837 American Archives: A Documentary History of the
English 1853 Colonies in North America from the
King's Message to Parliament of March 7, 1774 to
the Declaration of Independence by the United
States. Vols. I, III, IV, V. Washington, D.C.,
U.S. Government Printing Office.

France, Linda G.
1984 "Sugar Manufacturing in the West Indies".
Master's Thesis, Dept. of Anthropology, College
of William and Mary.

Geertz, Clifford
1968 Agricultural Involution: The Process of
Ecological Change in Indonesia. Berkeley
University of California Press.

Geyl, Pieter
1964 The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century,
1648-1715, Part II. New York, Barnes & Noble,
Inc.

Goslinga, Cornelis Ch.
1971 The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast
1580-1680. Gainesville, Florida, University of
Florida Press.

1979 A Short History of the Netherlands Antilles and
Surinam. The Hague, Netherlands, Martinus Nijhoff
Publishers.

Gosner, Pamela
1982 Caribbean Georgian. Washington, D.C., Three
Continents Press.

Hamer, Philip, George C. Rogers, Jr., (Ed.)
1970 The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. 1-9. Columbia,
University of South Carolina Press.

Hannay, David
1891 Rodney. London, MacMillian and Co.

Haring, Clarence H.

- 1966 The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the XVII Century. Hamden, Connecticut. Archon Books.

Harris, Marvin

- 1968 The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

Hartog, Johan

- 1961 Aruba Past and Present. Oranjestad, Aruba, N.A., D. J. DeWit.

-
- 1976 History of St. Eustatius. VAD, Aruba, The Central U.S.A. Bicentennial Committee of the Netherlands Antilles.

-
- 1981 History of Sint Maarten and Saint Martin. Phillipsburg, St. Maarten, N.A., the Sint Maarten Jaycees.

-
- 1982 History of Saba. The Netherlands, The Saba Artisan Foundation.

-
- 1984 Personal Communication. April 4.

Hiss, Philip Hanson

- 1943 Netherlands America: The Dutch Territories in the West. New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York.

-
- 1943 A Selective Guide to the English Literature on the Netherlands West Indies. New York, The Netherlands Information Bureau.

Huet, Pierre Daniel

- 1722 A View of the Dutch Trade in All the States, Empires, and Kingdoms in the World. . . Translated from the French. . . , 2nd edition. London.

de Hullu, J.

- 1919 "Zimmerman Letter to a Friend in Holland about life on St. Eustatius, July 10, 1792." West Indische Gids Vol. 2, pp. 144-150.

Jameson, John Franklin

- 1903 "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution," American Historical Review, Vol. 8, No. 4, (July), pp. 683-708.

-
- 1923 Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period:
Illustrative Documents. New York, MacMillian Co.
- Kerr, Wilfred Brenton
1936 Bermuda and the American Revolution: 1760-1783.
Priceton, Princeton University Press.
- Keur, John Y. and Dorothy L. Kuer
1960 Windward Children: A Study in Human Ecology of
the Three Dutch Windward Islands in the Caribbean.
Assen, Royal Vandorcum Ltd.
- Knight, Franklin W.
1978 The Caribbean, The Genesis of a Fragmented
Nationalism. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Knox, John P.
1852 A Historical Account of St. Thomas, W.I. Reprint
ed. New York, Negro University Press. 1979.
- Labat, Jean Baptiste
1970 The Memoirs of Pere Labat 1693-1705. Translated
by John Eaden. London, Frank Cass & Co., Ltd.
- Lampe, Franz S.
1984 Personal Interview, Fall.
- McCelellan, William Smith
1912 Smuggling in the American Colonies. New York,
Moffat, Yard and Co.
- Merwick, Donna
1980 "Dutch Townsmen and Land Use: A Spatial
Perspective on Seventeenth Century New York". The
William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol.
XXXVII, No. 1., pp. 53-78.
- Miller, Daniel A.
1970 Sir Joseph Yorke and Anglo-Dutch Relations,
1774-1780. The Hague, Mouton.
- Mims, Stewart L.
1912 Colbert's West India Policy. New Haven, Yale
University Press.
- Nagelkerken, Wil
1984 "Preliminary Investigation on the Historical
Anchorage of Oranje Bay, St. Eustatius."
Manuscript from Institute of Archaeology and
Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles, Curacao,
N.A.

Nijhoff, Martins.

- 1925 The Hollanders in America. A choice collection of books, maps and pamphlets relating to the early colonization, voyages, exploration, etc. by the Hollanders, in different parts of North and South America. The Hague, Martins Nijhoff.

Noel Hume, Ivor

- 1969 A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America. New York; Alfred Knoff.

The North American and the West Indian Gazetteer Containing
1788 an Authentic Description of the Colonies and Islands in that part of the Globe. . . London.

Orme, J.

- 1697 The Life of Cornelius Van Tromp, Lieutenant Admiral of Holland and Westfriesland: containing Many Remarkable Passages relating to the War between England and Holland. As also the Sea-Fights, and other Memorable Actions of this Great Man from the Year 1650 to the Time of his Death. London.

Ozinga, M. D.

- 1959 De Monumenten Van Curacao in Woord en Beeld. Curacao, N.A., Staatsdrukkerij-En Uitgeverijbedrijf, 'S-Gravenhage.

Pagan, John R.

- 1982 "Dutch Maritime and Commerical Activity in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Virginia". Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Oct.) pp. 485-501.

Pares, Richard

- 1936 War and Trade in the West Indies 1739-1763. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

-
- 1956 Yankees and Creoles. The Traed between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.

Parry, J. H.

- 1961 The Establishment of the European Hegemony 1415-1715. New York, Harper & Row Publishers.

Reglement op het Beleid van de Regering het Justitie-Wezen
...instruction voor den Gouveneur de Eilanden St. Eustatius, St. Martin en Saba 1815-1818.

- Russell, Margo and Martin Russell
1979 Afrikaners of the Kalahari: White Minority in a Black State. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Sainsbury, W. Noel (ed.)
1964 Callendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies 1661-1668, Vols. 6, 7, & 9. Vaduz, Kraus Reprint.
- St. Eustatius Gazette, Vol. I, No. 12; Vol. III, No. 171;
1790 Vol. IV, No. 210; Vol. V, No. 285. St. Eustatius,
1792 Edward Luther Low & Co., Benjamin Watson.
1793
1794
- Samford, Patricia
1984 "SE120: An Eighteenth Century Warehouse on St. Eustatius". Manuscript from Anthropology Dept., College of William and Mary.
- Sargent, Charles W.
1964 "Virginia and the West Indies Trade, 1740-1765". Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy in History. University of New Mexico.
- Schaw, Janet
1939 Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776. Edited by Evangeline W. Andres. Yale University Press. Reprint ed., Spartenburg, S.C. The Reprint Co. 1971. Schiffer, Michael B.

1976 Behavioral Archaeology. New York, Academic Press.
- Smith, J. M.
1980 "Dutch Domestic Architecture and Its Colonial Development." Manuscript from Anthropology Dept., College of William and Mary.
- Spilhaus, Margaret Whiting
1966 South Africa in The Making 1651-1806. Wynberg, South Africa. Juta & Company, Ltd.
- Spinney, David
1969 Rodney. London. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- Steward, Julian H.
1955 Theory of Culture Change. Urbana, University of Illinois.
- Thomas, David Hurst
1979 Archaeology. New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Towle, Judith A.

1978 Historic Site Preservation in the Caribbean - A
Status Report. St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands.
Island Resources Foundation.

Wabeke, Bertin Harry.

1944 Dutch Emigraiton to North America, 1624-1860. A
Short History. New York. The Netherlands
Information Bureau.

Zainu'ddin, Ailsa

1970 A Short History of Indonesia. New York, Praeger
Publishers.

VITA

Patricia Lynn Kandle

Born in Portsmouth, Virginia, February 18, 1953. B.A. in Creative Arts from the University of North Carolina at Wilmington in 1977. Archaeological laboratory and field work with the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the College of William and Mary: Yorktown Pottery Factory Project and St. Eustatius Field School. Historical research contract with U.S. Coast Guard Reserve Training Center, Yorktown, Virginia; internship with Cultural Resource Protection Plan for Williamsburg and surrounding areas, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

M.A. candidate, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary; area of specialization, Historical Archaeology.